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HIGH SPOTS

IN

CANADIAN HISTORY

BY
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FOREWORD.

IN presenting this little work to the public, the author pleads for sympathetic criticism and tolerant allowance of errors, whether in literary composition, in historical analysis, or in the omission of important facts and incidents.

He trusts that the book may be found at least interesting and perhaps instructive.

Illustrations appear of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, two outstanding representative figures in Canadian public life, all will admit; of the old Province Building in Fredericton (replaced many years ago), where between two elections the battle of Confederation was fought; and of the original Parliament Buildings at Ottawa (destroyed by fire in 1916), first used for the last session of the Legislature of the United Canadas and, next, for the first session of the Parliament of the New Dominion.

Portraits of Thomas Carleton, the first Governor of New Brunswick, appear to be rare. The accompanying engraving, taken from a paper contributed to the Nova Scotia Historical Society Collection by Beckles Willson, some years ago, was furnished me by my nephew, W. Q. Ketchum, jr., Ottawa.

DEDICATION.

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

TO MY WIFE

WITHOUT WHOSE CONSTANT CARE AND ENCOURAGEMENT, DURING A PROLONGED PERIOD OF ILL-HEALTH, IT COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

HIGH SPOTS IN CANADIAN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Cartier and Champlain—Founding of Port Royal and Quebec—Wolfe and Montcalm.

IN the City of Saint John, New Brunswick, stand two monuments, which by reason of the events they commemorate, if for no other, attract the attention of the student of history, and should lead the tourist, if at all of an inquiring mind, to think. One is of Champlain, the courageous, farseeing explorer with the prophetic insight, the pioneer colonist, the philosophic writer, the skilled cartographer, who, at the dawn of the seventeenth century, discovered the mouth of the great river, which, with its source in the wilds of Maine, flows for hundreds of miles through the Province of New Brunswick, and named it the Saint John.

The other is to the memory of the United Empire Loyalists, the founders of the city. As Champlain was the forerunner in a peculiar sense of the French colonists who laid the foundations of Quebec, so the Loyalists may in a similar sense be regarded as particularly representative of the English-speaking portion of the population of Canada. Other forces, indeed, there are which act and react on Canadian life,—those who claim descent from the pre-Loyalists, the descendants of the colonists from the British Isles, from Germany and from other countries, but the impress of the Loyalist movement still remains stamped on Canadian public policy and Canadian social life. Just as in the United States, upon important occasions public opinion and public sentiment are influenced by the principles which guided the Pilgrims and Puritans to the bleak shores of New England, so, in Canada, in great crises, opinion and sentiment are largely moulded on the principles that led the American Loyalists

to leave their homes and seek refuge on the shores of the turbulent Bay of Fundy, and on the less troublous shores of the St. Lawrence and of Lake Ontario.

It is strange, how differently we regard the passage of a century of time, depending on whether our own or in the remote past. Looking back a hundred years seems a real infinity of time. Yet when reading of the dimmer long ago, we jump placidly from century to century as though from one year to another. A thousand years are as one day. Upwards of a century passed between the time that Sebastien Cabot discovered Newfoundland, named the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island), gazed at the coast of Nova Scotia, "land first seen," and the founding of Port Royal and discovery of the Saint John River, while nearly three-quarters of a century intervened between the landing of Jacques Cartier at Stadacona (Quebec), his passage up the river to Hochelaga (Montreal), his return to Stadacona, where he rewarded the kindness of the savage "king," Donnecona, by treacherously kidnapping him and taking him, a virtual prisoner, back to France, where he died, and the actual foundation of Quebec by Champlain.

In all the history of the relations between the white man and the North American Indian, it would appear that in the vast majority of cases the original pact of friendship and amity was first broken and violated, not by the Indian, but by the European. The Indian did not have to associate long with those whom he thought gods, until he found that they had feet of the commonest kind of clay. And Cartier's reputation, in spite of his courageous adventures and the vastness of his discoveries, bears an indelible stain by reason of his treatment of Donnecona.

Consider the position of the North American Indian at the coming of the white man. Suddenly bursts on his view such a ship with great white wings or sails, of which even in his oft troubled dreams he had never

dreamed, and when his amazed vision beheld its occupants, he saw men of his own shape, with heavily bearded white faces, clad in garments quite as gorgeous in colour as that with which he stained his bare face and body. And the power of these wondrous visitants was shown by the way they dealt out thunder and lightning, not striking at random like the evil spirit who dwelt in the clouds, but controlled and directed as they willed. And when, instead of hostility, there was a disposition to treat him fairly and more than all when they told him of a new God of love and kindness, even his savage nature was impressed and the better part of him came to the surface. But in a very short time and on a very brief acquaintance the Indian found that these wondrous creatures were full of vices, quite as mean as any in which he was capable of indulging, and that they were much more influenced by a visible object they called gold, than by an invisible being they called God. Suppose some wondrous air-ship such as the mind of man could not conceive of, something that would make the biggest Zeppelin look like a circus toy balloon, were to land on this planet from Mars, the airmen who manned her, winged and apparently invulnerable, with marks of superior intelligence and benevolence upon their countenances, and yet armed with weapons which, in their deadly effect, even surpassed the invention of a German chemist! And then these angelic heralds told us a lot about God of which even the most profound of our theologians had not thought, and settled to our satisfaction so many disputed questions of doctrine and dogma. And, just when we thought we had at length come into the period of a new heaven and a new earth these Martian visitors began to display the most contemptible vices, treated us as slaves, defiled our women folk, lied and stole and cheated. Surely when to our amazement we found them quite as human as ourselves, would not our first thought be to get rid of them and our next to quit

believing in their deity and to look for one more worthy of worship than him whom they so unctiously proclaimed and so feebly followed.

Champlain writes, "The malediction and rage of many Christians is such that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels, a thing it grieveth me to speak; would to God I was a liar in this respect and that I had no cause to speak it." And, again, when he returned to his desolate Isle of St. Croix, "I did judge better than before that the savages were, though lesser civilized, more humane and honester men, than many that bear the name of Christians, having during three years spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of wood, nor salt which was in great quantity as hard as a rock." But the most damning indictment came from the pen of Des Casa, an ecclesiastic, "The Indians do not believe anything and do mock at all that is shown them of God, being in truth firmly rooted in this opinion of our God, that He is the worst, the most unjust and most wicked of all gods because He hath such servants."

Shining exceptions there were, indeed, to these human monsters, in the missionaries who risked, and in many instances, lost their lives endeavouring to instruct and convert the aborigines, and to their honour be it said, in many of the French and English leaders in colonization, themselves, the most severe witnesses to the gross offences of their camp followers against not only the principles of Christianity but against the ordinary dictates of humanity.

But Donnecona had his revenge. It was he, who first named "Canada," when he courteously invited Cartier to visit his village. Cartier adopted the Indian chieftain's designation and applied it to the central portion of his newly-discovered country, while above was Hochelaga and below, Saguenay. Now the people of half a great continent are proud to call themselves Canadians, for it is no vain boast to say that in the science of constitu-

tional government, in the arts of agricultural and commercial pursuits, as well as in the grim art of war, Canada stands illustrious as a strong, virile young nation.

Columbus changed the face of the world. After his fateful discovery, the extent of which he did not live to realize, daring mariners of Spain, of Portugal, of Venice, of Italy, and of England, set out, westerly bound, in ships which could be pocketed today, almost without being noticed, in one of our mammoth liners. Naturally, many of them took a more northerly course than Columbus and the first land many of them saw was the bleak and repelling coast of Newfoundland, which one of these hardy and rough-tongued sailors described as "the land that God gave Cain." Nor would the shores of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia appear much more attractive in places and on occasions. Verrazano skirted about these coasts and that strange character, Amerigo Vespucci, who accompanied an expedition in the lifetime of Columbus, in a secondary capacity, rounded Cape Sable. Vespucci, in a day when writing was a laborious job and few capable of exercising it fluently, wrote a description of his voyage and laid claim to have discovered a new continent, and so it came to pass, to use the severe language of Robertson, that "by the universal consent of the nations, America is the name bestowed on this quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate imposter have robbed the discoverer of the new world of a distinction which belonged to him." It is only fair to the memory of Amerigo Vespucci to state that he does not lack defenders who have said that he acted in absolute sincerity and that, in his lifetime, he did not know of the great honor conferred on his name, nor sought it.

Samuel de Champlain, in all truth, may be said to have been the first colonist of Canada, and that his statue adorns more than one Canadian city, is but right. He, as well as Vespucci, was capable of putting his thoughts

on paper, and from his copious writings, we learn what manner of man he was. He had faith in the future of this new land. He looked upon it as the home of future generations, a new France in very reality. His description of the Indians with whom he came both in friendly and in hostile contact is edifying. The crude Americanism that a good Indian is a dead Indian, would have met with but scant favor from the great Frenchman. In his opinion there was a distinction between some Indians and others as between some white men and others. Some were all for war and some were all for peace. Some tribes had a strong pastoral bent and took pleasure in this primitive form of agriculture, in the raising of Indian corn, maize, and the like, tried to make some sort of provision for the winter months, and in a rude way had a conception of a community life, where each helped the other. Other tribes, and it is feared the great majority, put their whole trust in the tomahawk and the bow and arrow, and like birds of prey, swooped down on the industrious and peaceful element and robbed them both of the fruits of their labor and of their lives. The North American Indian had many vices—what chance had he to learn virtue—and his cruelty to captives was fiendish. But, he also possessed qualities, not lacking in the element of nobility, and mentally, he was not stupid. In his pow-wows, the Indian chief displayed, at times, a sagacity, a shrewdness and a craftiness of logic, which frequently put to his trumps, the most astute reasoner amongst those who came to rob him of his lands and to force him to extinction.

Four names are peculiarly associated with the attempted colonization of La Cadie, as the French monarch termed Acadia, when he granted it to De Monts—De Monts, Poutrincourt, Champlain, and Marc Lescarbot. Lescarbot's record of his experiences, read with Champlain's, gives a lucid idea of the situation. When the site of Annapolis Royal came in view of the gallant adventurers, Champlain was so struck with its

beauty that he named it Port Royal, and Poutrincourt, who secured a grant of the location from De Monts, regarded it as a worthy site for a colonist settlement in which he himself and his family would share. For some years attempts were made at a permanent settlement and in spite of the severity of the winters there came a time when the outlook was almost rosy. The first blow was a mandate from Versailles upsetting the whole project, and when this insane policy was dropped, an Englishman, Argall, swooped down upon the last vestige of the colony and demolished it. The Englishman came all the way from Virginia to put out of commission this poor little attempt at settlement, as if the continent had not room enough elsewhere. One would have thought that stern nature and hostile Indians would have been enemies enough, but not so. Frenchmen and Englishmen and Spaniards, not content with slaughtering each other at the behests of kings and emperors in Europe, took all the pains of crossing an ocean that they might kill each other on the shore of distant America. The attempt to settle about Port Royal was the first real step in colonization on the North American continent, at least, and the red savages are not to blame that it came to naught.

The English had, at least, colour of right. The English king and the French king got mixed up in parallels, so that the grants of territory which one made to his subjects, took in the grants which the other made to his. Quite probably the sovereigns concerned knew that they were stirring up strife, for in whatever nook truth may have remained hidden in those days, it certainly was not in the breasts of kings or of the counsellors of kings. The English laid claim to all the territory south of the St. Lawrence, the great river of Canada, and, of course, this took in Acadia, known after the grant to Sir William Alexander by James the First, as New Scotland or Nova Scotia.

Port Royal henceforth was a much disputed point. It was bombarded and stormed, taken and retaken, defended

and surrendered, ceded and annexed, time without number, so that if as Annapolis Royal with its historic associations, with its memories of De Monts and Poutrincourt, of Champlain and Lescarbot, of Argall, and the rest, it lies today in peaceful and dignified security, well has it earned rest and repose, for of a truth, its birth was in heavy travail and its childhood amid stormy and troublous days.

When Champlain found that the settlement at Port Royal was doomed to disaster, his eyes turned to the rocky prominence on the St. Lawrence which, on account of its peculiar formation, the Indians called "Kebec." His determination to lay the foundations of a city and fort that should guard New France was at length rewarded and although his vicissitudes were many and his hardships appalling, the project worked out and he lived to see the day when, after the almost willing surrender of the half-starved garrison and little band of settlers to Kirke, the humiliation was of short duration for within a very short while, under the terms of one of those numberless treaties made between England and France, New France passed again into the hands of the country whose daring explorers had discovered it and Champlain became the first governor. His vast efforts were at length rewarded. He had penetrated far into the interior, up the St. Lawrence, up the Ottawa, and if he did not discover, he, at least explored the Great Lakes. He had his reward in the almost certain knowledge that time would see this vast territory peopled and flourishing. When death came, she came and touched his brow kindly. He died in the plenitude of his power, and if, perchance, his gallant spirit still hovers about the ancient citadel, it is with the knowledge that the flag of England—and the flag of Canada—flies over a contented and free people, the descendants of the founders of his beloved New France, a people speaking the same language he spoke, following the customs of their French ancestors, and devoted very firmly to the ancient religion in which

Champlain himself seems to have been a sincere, consistent, and liberal believer.

It used to be said that all roads lead to Rome. In Canada all roads lead to Quebec. Although but some three hundred odd years since its foundation, Quebec has lived a long life. A mere rocky promontory, covered with woods and frequented with untutored savages in canoes or on snowshoes, when many cities in the old world had centuries of history behind them, it stands today as one of the world-famous places. Statesmen and courtiers, admirals and generals, plotted alike its destruction and its preservation. The shrewd and masterful Cardinal Richelieu planned how he could keep it, and the great commoner, Pitt, planned how he could take it. It led to grim jests on the part of kings and philosophers. George the Second, reproached for placing the serious task of its capture in the hands of a madman like Wolfe, expressed the wish that Wolfe might bite some of his other generals, while after its capture, Voltaire belittled the loss of Canada as of but a few acres of snow.

Up the tortuous path from Wolfe's Cove crept the British on a memorable night, followed by the delicate but dauntless leader, who found this path of glory led, not to the grave alone, but to immortal fame.

Montcalm, equally brave and talented, handicapped by intrigue, treachery, cupidity, thwarted at every step where he looked for support, his worst enemies within his own household, stood forth heroic in his hour of defeat, as Wolfe in his hour of victory.

Historic Hochelaga and Mount Royal may become forgotten and swallowed up in commercial Montreal, the home of immense wholesale houses and the great summer ocean port of half a continent. More modern Toronto, once regarded as an intellectual and educational centre, may, as time passes, become more and more a city of busy factories and the home and breeding ground of high protectionism. But Quebec will always remain

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unique among the cities of the new world, about which will continue to hover all worth while in Canadian history and art, poetry and romance, the Mecca of Canada to which all eyes turn.

CHAPTER II.

The Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans.

ALL the land below the Acadian coast, claimed by England was regarded as part of Virginia. While Champlain was developing his colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, a great world event happened in the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock, which, with all allowance for exaggeration in language, may be regarded as the corner stone of modern democracy and majority government. Strong believers in the principles of Protestantism, it does not appear that the Pilgrims favored religious persecution, although they had suffered from it themselves and the age was one when, strange to relate, a taste for religious persecution was regarded as the mark of the true disciple of Christ. De Monts, in one of his colonizing trips, had brought in the same boat Catholic priest and Protestant pastor, but they fought incessantly, even to blows, and it is said, on one occasion when a priest and a minister had died about the same time, the Indians insisted on burying the two in one grave, to see if they would keep quiet there. The Pilgrims inaugurated a benign government amongst themselves and favored a merciful policy towards the aborigines. While the remarkable document drawn up off Cape Cod, with its assertion of the right to bind themselves by their own laws, is in itself a declaration of independence, the preamble, "having undertaken for the glorie of God and advancement of the Christian religion and honor of our King and countrie a voyage to plant the first colonie," has no particular Puritan ring to it. The coming of the simon-pure Puritans, a little later, with their marked aversion to papacy and prelacy and their inward dislike to monarchy, added a harder and more intense note to the character of the Massachusetts settlement, and what of benevolence there was in the Pilgrim became swallowed up in the severity of the

Puritan. Henceforth, the government of the colony was more harsh and intolerant, and the Indians were looked upon rather as incorrigible imps of Satan, than as uninstructed wards of God. In one thing Pilgrim and Puritan agreed, in their sturdy independence and in their determination, that a new world should have new customs and that the dead wood preventing political development in the old world, should find no abiding place in the new. Throughout the stirring narrative of this determined band of wayfarers, the golden thread which runs, and leads us to forgive all their peculiarities, all their eccentricities, and even their intolerance, is the sound though rude conception they had of the right of every man to a place in the sun, not as a subject, at the bid and beck of his overlord, but as a citizen with his inalienable rights. The great contribution they made to civilization was the implanting in the minds of their fellow men, the world over, the idea of free and liberal government, the germ of Lincoln's immortal doctrine "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Judged by results, the movement was stronger on its political than on its religious side. It would be impossible to think of Champlain and his company subscribing to such a declaration. Paternalism, not independence, was still the keynote of the Quebec foundation. Yet, the Quebec of today, with all the rest of the continent, follows the political principle for which in those hard days, Pilgrim and Puritan stood, as adamant, and would scorn the suggestion that it should be satisfied with the paternalism of Champlain. On the other hand, while Quebec, practically unanimously, adheres both in form and substance to the religion which Champlain practiced, comparatively few in New England profess to practice either in substance or form the religion that found favor in the breasts of Miles Standish and John Bradford.

The great work, accomplished by these austere sons of old England and fathers of New England, was the

sowing of a seed which, if during their lifetime and period was roughly cultivated and hampered with weeds, still had within it vital strength enough to survive and to be carried by the winds to congenial soil all over the American continent, to Europe and to the remote parts of the world. Further than this, the name of Puritan, given to them, in derision, perhaps, was not without its true application. They did aim at purity of life and conduct in private and public, and if this led to severity of manner and austere living, it is but the experience of many others who try to tread the hard and narrow paths of righteousness. A people whose main reading consisted in the perusal of and meditation on the words of the Bible, who were familiar with the history of the chosen people of God as narrated in the sacred volume, who steeped themselves in the warnful writings of the Old Testament prophets, would, at least be schooled in a knowledge that iniquity of life, alike in the nation as in the individual, leads to destruction, while righteousness exalteth a nation.

Probably history has never afforded an instance of a more honest attempt to carry out the dictates of the great book in which these hardy souls honestly believed, without a single doubt in their breasts, as to the literal accuracy of its story of Creation, of the flood, of Jonah and the whale, of any one of the other wonderful events, whereby nature appeared to travel out of its usual course.

It is idle to say that the Puritan movement in New England has no part in the history of Canada, inasmuch as the Loyalist was an evolution, in many instances, of the Puritan. Names which loom large in the government of the semi-independent colonies on the Atlantic coast, come in time to appear as prominently in the roll of the American Loyalists. The Mayflower, sailing away from persecution in old England, carried passengers whose descendants sailed away from as hostile treatment in New England. If the Puritans left England because

of their dislike of monarchy, their grandsons left Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York because of their devotion to monarchy. Such changes does time work. It is true that the form, or perhaps the substance, of monarchy had changed. The Hanoverian kings had succeeded the Stuarts, and monarchy, if less brilliant and romantic, was also less oppressive and autocratic. Prime ministers were coming to rule instead of kings.

As time passed, a mellowed spirit pervaded the colonies. The wilderness, if it did not blossom as the rose, had, at least been largely cleared away and was replaced by fruitful fields. The Indians, howsoever troublesome, had come to realize that they were a conquered, and perhaps, a dying race. Hamlets had grown into good sized towns. Living was becoming easier and more comfortable and there were increasing signs of wealth. A spirit of religious tolerance was gradually taking the place of the spirit of sectarian despotism. Anglicanism with its doctrine of the *via media*, had had a hard struggle for existence. The Puritans were not disposed to be unduly tolerant of a church over which had presided Archbishop Laud, but in time the Church of England got a foothold. A small, but influential body of Yale students, studying divinity, forsook Congregationalism and embraced Episcopalianism, and their example was followed by many of the cultivated classes in the colonies, who came to hold high doctrines with respect to church and state, not far removed from those which prevailed throughout the old country in the days of the Stuarts. Between this class of citizens and the motherland the relations were more intimate than they had ever been before. When the official relations became strained to the breaking point, they did all in their power to prevent the final breach, and when it finally came, true to the teaching they had imbibed, they sided on the King's side and with the King's forces. The breach had not come when the Union Jack supplanted the Fleur de Lis on the ramparts of Quebec.

CHAPTER III.

Quebec After the Cession—Loyalist Movement.

AFTER a period of military rule, the Quebec Act, a measure having for its particular object the pacifying and satisfying of the new French Canadian subjects, was passed. Besides liberty to profess their own religion and to use their own language, the inhabitants were permitted to retain the French civil law; and the church was supported in the custom of tithes, as amongst her own adherents. The French Canadian was placed in a position as favorable as that which he held before the cession, with the prospect of a better and more stable form of government. In time he was to be introduced to representative government, something old France would hardly have consented to give him. A majority of the New England colonists, who within a short time, were to be found in arms against their mother country, heartily disapproved of this conciliatory legislation, expressed, when the final breach came, in a clause of the famous Declaration, where the king is charged with "abolishing the free system of English laws in a 'neighboring province' and establishing therein an arbitrary government, enlarging its boundaries so as to render it, at once, an example and a fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies." Did the American revolutionaries really think such action was contemplated? Here is room for thought and discussion. By the Quebec Act, the boundaries of Quebec were greatly enlarged and included a large portion of what are now the middle states. We must keep in mind, that, at this period, the New England colonies were but a fringe on the Atlantic coast. After the conquest of Canada there was considerable of a movement of population northward from the English colonies.

The attitude of these newcomers was one rather of suppression than of tolerance. Toleration was not a

marked note at that time, in the New England character, nor, indeed, anywhere else, certainly, not amongst the French. So, when the Quebec Act was passed with its concessions to the Catholic church and to the French Canadians, profound discontent manifested itself amongst those English-speaking people who had moved into Quebec, and their attitude and views were approved and upheld by the majority of their fellow colonists to the south. But the New England colonists were not the only English-speaking communities interested. Nova Scotia was, then, well organized, with an elective legislature, and as much independence, perhaps, as Massachusetts. Halifax had been founded, en bloc, by a shipful of citizens imported from England. Nova Scotians were no more willing to be slaves than New Englanders, yet Nova Scotia made no emphatic protest against the Quebec Act, nor had the slightest intention of embarking on a movement leading to separation from the mother country.

When all is said, that can be said against George the Third, many of the charges brought against him in the famous Declaration, sound, today, grossly exaggerated. He had his failings—the failings of a narrow mind. He was arbitrary and obstinate, a most unhappy combination. He had an absurd idea of his prerogative, considering what means led to his occupying the throne, and how his ancestor, the first George, got it. But he was far from being a Nero.

A strong bid was made for Canada to enter the federation of the rebellious colonies, in one of the articles of Confederation, which provided that Canada acceding to the confederation and joining in the measures of the United States, should be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of the union, while the general provision was that no other colony should be admitted without the agreement of nine states.

The Loyalist movement, like the Pilgrim-Puritan movement, is an interesting study. It is only now, after

the lapse of a hundred years time, that the movement can be impartially regarded and studied. The large majority in the colonies were, undoubtedly, in favor of the revolution when it was found that armed force must settle the question. Up to that time, Benjamin Franklin and other leading spirits worked and hoped for an amicable settlement of the controversy. Franklin was unceasing in his efforts, but to no purpose. When the die was cast, it became necessary to take one side or the other. The strife was too bitter to admit of neutrals. To be as fair as possible, it is not unlikely that the Crown had adherents who believed they were on the winning side. Humanly speaking, it was quite as probable that the rebellion would be suppressed as that it would be successful. Britain had many formidable foes, it is true, but she had capable allies, and the colonies were neither strong, in a military sense, nor effectually united. The majority had long been inclined to republican ideas. Cromwell had not been forgotten, and while the revolution which displaced the Stuarts was popular, it was quite a long call from William of Orange to George the Third, and royal prerogative was gaining rather than losing. Moreover, the acquisition of Canada was looked upon in many quarters as a mixed blessing—an embarrassment of riches. There was not much sympathy between Puritan New England and Catholic Quebec.

A policy with the French Canadians, such as had been adopted in the case of the unfortunate Acadians of Grand Pre, rather than a policy of conciliation, would have been more popular amongst the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

The forcible expulsion of the Acadians bore all the marks of military policy, and while there were not wanting reasons to justify this severe measure—difficult, perhaps, to understand now—in its results, it was a complete failure, altogether apart from the question of its moral justification. That the Acadians were badly advised by bad advisers, the most reliable and impartial

of students and writers admit. But the last thing these industrious peasants wanted was a troublous existence. To France they would naturally be attached, and the change of masters was not pleasant to them, but they were essentially a pastoral and not a warlike people, and above all things, they desired peace. As is often the case, it happened with them, the punishment that should have been meted out to the guilty fell on the innocent. But, time has avenged them. Longfellow, himself a descendant of the race and people who caused their dispersal, has immortalized their sufferings, and on the very site of their ancient home, a statue to the New England poet is to be placed by their descendants.

The Loyalists were in the minority, but they represented a good deal of what was best in the colonies. During the reign of George the Third, there was a recurrence of that old sentiment of loyalty to the person of the sovereign, which had reached its apex in the days of Charles the First, and had continued, with more or less intensity, until the last hope of the last Stuart was extinguished. Many of the Jacobites had transferred their allegiance to the reigning sovereign. The moral, homely life of the old king, the simplicity of his tastes, his fondness for country life and pursuits—old Farmer George—his insistence on being regarded as an Englishman and not a German, were traits which appealed strongly to the British mind, and which won to his side many who had regarded his immediate predecessors as usurpers.

There came to be a real element of doubt in the Jacobite mind as to the famous Jacobite toast,—

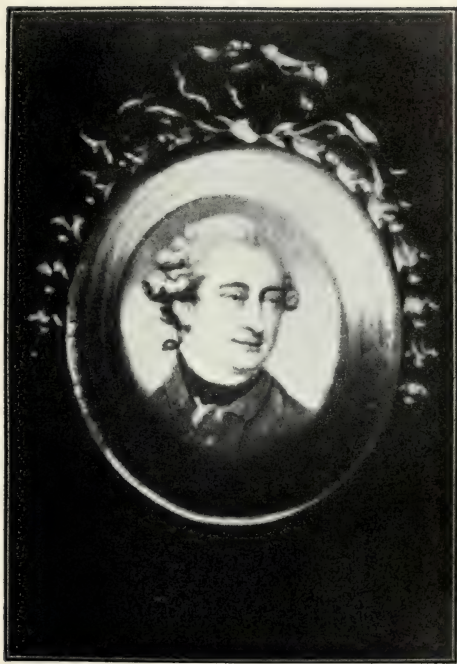
God bless the king, God bless the faith's defender,
And bless, what harm in blessing, the pretender,
But, who pretender is, and who is king,
Why, bless us all, that's quite another thing.

And this sentiment, spreading to the American colonies, found fruitful soil in the hearts of many of the pros-

perous, contented and well-to-do of the inhabitants. Flora Macdonald, whose loyal devotion to bonnie Prince Charlie will never be forgotten as long as the world loves romance, espoused, with her husband, the cause of the king against the republicans, and is said, at a later period, to have remarked, somewhat bitterly, on the ill fruits, from a worldly point of view, her devotion to two kings had brought her. The Loyalists admitted causes for discontent, but denied that the situation was so serious as to require resort to a fratricidal war. Constitutional means of redress were still unspent. A few conscientious but prejudiced of their number, considered that no sort of oppression warranted the breach of their oath of allegiance, and were as devoted to George as the non-jurors had been to James. And so, the Loyalists refused to join in the rebellion and took up arms on the side of the obstinate king. They were subject to all sorts of abuse and were covered with contumely. They lost, many of them, their lives; all lost their property and all lost many of their friends. There was nothing left for them except to seek a refuge in another and a more forbidding land, from the point of view of nature, and to begin all over again. The outlook was far from bright. It is doubtful if they had even the consolation of a hearty farewell by a small body of friends, such as the Pilgrims record, when they left the shores of an old Plymouth to found a new. The triumphant patriots were not in a mood to be lenient. The lands of the Loyalists were confiscated, without any compensation, and what redress they did get was from the British government after their losses were proved before a commission. They came from New York and other ports to Nova Scotia, to what are now the Eastern Townships, and further west to that part of Quebec now Ontario. The scene in no case was entrancing. The whole English population of Nova Scotia would not be over seven or eight thousand and half of that in Halifax. Saint John was a bare and rocky promontory washed by the raging waves of the

troublous Bay of Fundy. There were a few settlers scattered along the Saint John River, whose sympathies were mostly with the revolted colonies, and there was the remains of a French settlement at St. Anne where Fredericton now is. There was nothing of any account, in the way of a town, thence to Quebec. A combined French and Indian settlement was at Medoctec, half a hundred miles above St. Anne. Quebec, in fact far away, was more distant from Halifax than London or Vancouver is to-day. Three Rivers and Montreal were known as growing centres, but almost altogether French. Military posts, here and there, established a sort of long distance connection, not as effectual as a wireless station. Ontario was almost a wilderness. The remains of a French fort, Fort Rouille, were on the site of Toronto. At the mouth of the Niagara and the Trent rivers were embryo villages, while Frontenac or Kingston gave most promise of attaining to town importance. Where Ottawa stands was a complete wilderness. And to this undeveloped country came this dauntless body of men whose forebears had contributed largely to the successful foundation of the New England colonies. It is not the purpose of this book to dwell upon their experiences in detail, but it may be said that, in many instances, their hardships were appalling, not a whit less so than the hardships the Pilgrims and Puritans faced. Goldwin Smith, no great admirer of Imperialism, speaks of the devotion of the better class of the Loyalists as one of the three noble things in the war of the American revolution. New Brunswick, essentially the province and creation of the Loyalists, was separated from Nova Scotia, and Saint John has the distinction of being the first incorporated city in British North America.

If Sir Guy Carleton accomplished great things, as he undoubtedly did in the larger field of British North America, his younger brother, Thomas Carleton, followed worthily in his footsteps, in a smaller field, as first Governor of New Brunswick. He associated himself



THOMAS CARLETON, FIRST GOVERNOR OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

with the struggling Loyalists and did everything in his power to make their lot as easy as possible, so that a writer on New Brunswick history of a very early date (Peter Fisher) was able to speak of him as, "having in every respect endeared himself to them (the settlers) as their common father and benefactor." The record of the Carleton brothers in the development of British America is both unique and enviable.

By this time, we have Quebec, with its overwhelmingly French population. On the east, the English provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; on the west of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, a growing English community, in which the exiled Loyalists predominated. The greater part of the northwest was marked on the maps as "unknown territory," and had anyone predicted the day would come when hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat would be raised there, and when millions of people would have their homes there, his prediction would have met with about as much credit as one made, to-day, that in the not distant future, peaches and pears will be grown to maturity in the Arctic regions, and that a cathedral—or to be more in keeping with the age—a twenty-story seal packing factory will occupy the site of the North Pole.

CHAPTER IV.

More about the Loyalists—Upper and Lower Canada— War of 1812.

THE independence of the United States and the exodus of the Loyalists, were the important events in the formation of the Dominion of Canada. The Loyalists assumed—or it was given to them—the designation, United Empire Loyalists. They were entitled to use the words U. E. L. after their names; but, while they were Loyalists, they were also Americans of the genuine type, and not unduly infatuated with the glitter of titles. Anyway, the distinction does not appear to have been at all generally taken advantage of. What is of importance, is that they stood for a United Empire, as their fellow colonists from whom they separated, stood for United States. And, now, going on a century and a half since they took their famous stand, the Empire to which they were so devotedly attached, stands on a firm and apparently enduring foundation. Again and again its fall has been predicted and feared and hoped for. Again and again strong hostile forces, sometimes from without, sometimes from within, have assailed it and threatened its destruction, but in all history, no empire or commonwealth, ancient or modern, has shown such marvellous latent strength, founded almost altogether on sentimental attachment. No imperious call of an overseas tyrant summoned Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders to the war-stricken fields of France and Flanders. Such a demand would have met with scarce response. It was the spontaneous rush of a scattered family of affectionate sons, hastening to the side of their mother, in the hour of her extreme peril. No wonder the German could not understand why Canada should be in the war. With his training how could he be expected to understand? He never knew, nor, probably, ever will he know, what it is

to be a true freeman. "Loyaliste oblige," to coin a new phrase out of an old. Descendants of the Loyalists joined the Canadian forces, in large numbers, at the early stage of the war. Familiar Loyalist names were found on the roll call. Nor were these worthy sons of worthy sires, to use Artemus Ward's term, "major-generally" inclined. When they had not had previous military experience, they took their places, manfully in the ranks of the great crusader army. It was left to youths less well-born, and less well-bred, and less patriotic, to start all manner of wire-pulling among the Ottawa politicians, to find easier jobs.

And yet the Loyalist migration is not an event, that in annual celebration arouses enthusiasm in the minds of the Canadian public. Amongst the French, of course, one would not look for this, but with the English population, Loyalist Day, if observed at all—and it is observed only in a few centres—is celebrated in a solemn and perfunctory manner, and it is quite confined to those who, perhaps, are more concerned with the pride of ancestry, than with the fate of posterity. A certain kudos is attached to the phrase, "descended from the Loyalists," as there is in the phrase "came over in the Mayflower," and an English Canadian, who has emerged from the shade of social obscurity into the bright light of millionaire row, finds little difficulty in digging up a Loyalist ancestor, somewhere, even if his name finds no place either in Sabine or The Claims. It is sometimes asked how it comes about that so little notice is taken of the Loyalist Day celebrations. The answer is that the Loyalist movement was not a popular movement. It was the attitude of a class, and was, in a sense, aristocratic, away from, rather than an advance towards democracy. Monarchical government, even if of the constitutional variety, supposes ascending and descending grades in society, and is the very opposite of that form of government which asserts that all men are born free and equal. People who turn their backs on a republican form of

government, may be acting both conscientiously and wisely, but the movement is looked upon as retrograde and not progressive. There can be no successful disputing of this proposition. The "patriots," as the revolutionaries were termed, were considered on the side of the people. That Washington and Lafayette were aristocrats, does not affect the truth of the proposition that the movement they supported and carried to success was democratic. And the youthful American to this day, celebrates on the fourth of July, the valor of his countrymen in throwing off the yoke of an oppressive and autocratic monarchical government.

Canada has been very fortunate in her governors-general. Some were better than others, but upon the whole they have been men, fitted to occupy the position to which they were called. Before Confederation this title was borne by the governor, resident at Quebec—sometimes he was designated, governor-in-chief—and he had a certain jurisdiction, or at least pre-eminence and military oversight over all the British American provinces. Before the days of responsible government, his duties and responsibilities were exacting and heavy, and he had complete control of patronage. If the Dominion of Canada, as now constituted, has in it the element of durability, if in the days to come the experiment proves a success, the fathers of Confederation are not entitled to all the credit. Credit must also be given to such men as Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester), Lord Durham, Lord Elgin, and others of the governors general who laid foundation stones of solid material. After the independence of the United States, the task was not easy. Leaving aside for the present, the Acadian or Maritime Provinces, the conditions were complex enough to worry the most wise and astute of statesmen. There was the French majority and the English minority. The majority ever fearful that they would become a minority, were jealous of their special privileges and rights given to them under the Quebec Act. The minority was increasing

in numbers. The advent of the Loyalists was accompanied by a considerable immigration from the mother land, and disbanded soldiers were taking up the soil.

One of the chief tributes to the wisdom of British statesmen, lies in the fact that while they make mistakes, they do not fail to profit by them. The outcome of the revolutionary war was a bitter blow to British pride. Not only were the New England colonies now free states but all the fertile country between the Ohio and the Mississippi, as far west as Louisiana, which had been ceded by France, passed into the keeping of the new American nation. Experience is a hard school but the lessons there learned are not easily forgotten. If the Empire was still to survive with such an important limb amputated, more skillful treatment must be accorded. This was coming to be realized, not only amongst liberal statesmen, but even by the ultra-conservatives and by the King himself. At all costs, the Boston tea party must not be repeated in Halifax or Quebec. The French Canadians were treated with the utmost consideration, at the risk of seriously offending the English minority. In time this minority, forming the main settlements west of Ottawa River, became influential politically and numerically, and clamored for a separate province.

Thus it came about that Quebec was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. Lower Canada, Quebec of to-day, remained French, as it has remained since. Upper Canada (Ontario) was ruled along English lines, adopting the common law and such civil statutes of England as were applicable to the situation. In this way, it took its place beside Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In brief, the one was a French, the other an English colony. Newark, at the mouth of the Niagara River, was first selected as the capital of the new province, a later choice falling on York, which still, as Toronto, has a reminder of the meeting place of its first legislature in Parliament Street. Upper Canada was allowed to go on its own way, pretty much, saving, of course, the paternal

oversight and management from Downing Street, plus irritating pin pricks from arbitrary governors and councils, causing irritating sores in the minds of the inhabitants. Lower Canada, too, followed its beaten track, but considerable trouble ensued there, owing to the attitude of the French majority and the English minority, the latter encouraged in its position by the majority of the upper province. This minority, of a race which was apt to consider itself superior in everything because it was superior in business acumen, looked upon themselves as a privileged people, by nature, and displayed a strong opposition to the special treatment extended to the French Canadians, whom they purported to regard as in every way, inferior. Neither intellectual, thoughtful nor farseeing, the turbulent souls in this minority in no way represented what was best in the Loyalists. They looked to the present and to their own advantage and were endowed with scant vision. Force and money were their ideals. Nor were the French wanting in demagogues, who were only too ready to exaggerate, even, the too apparent failings of their fellow citizens of English origin. They failed to take into consideration, sufficiently, the generous policy, extended to them, by England, whereby they attained rights and independence of which their forefathers had never dreamed. Even Papineau, of whom more will be said, in a moment of warm-hearted generosity, rendered his tribute to the generosity of England in this respect. Trouble was brewing, which would only be postponed by a danger from outside, threatening the very existence of the colonies.

The young are always interested in the history of wars, and most old people, too, for that matter. It is the savage in human kind. Even the most religious, who devote much time to the reading of the Bible, cannot, and probably do not wish to escape from these exciting chapters dealing with the war-like experiences of the Children of Israel, while they learn from the New

Testament, that there once was a war in Heaven—that strange war which gave Milton the subject matter for his masterly epic.

The Canadas were not long allowed to function peaceably—aside from internecine strife—when the ambitious nation to the south found occasion to declare war, with the expectation, no doubt, that the last vestige of British influence would be wiped off the map of North America. This wretched war, less justifiable than most unjustifiable wars, lasted for between two and three years, during which there was much loss of life, much cruelty, much suffering by innocent women and children, much destruction of valuable property, and, when it was all over, no tangible gain to either party, excepting that the British colonists had shown themselves worthy allies of their comrades fighting overseas, and worthy opponents of the patriots of New England, who a few years previously had won their independence, in a much more justifiable struggle on their part. And, too, the active and effectual part taken by the French Canadians must always be remembered by those not blinded by prejudice. The history of this war has been written from all angles. It fills many of the pages of United States and Canadian history books. Certainly Canadians of this day have reason to look back with pride to the stout and successful defence of their country which their forefathers made.

Britain was in deadly grips with the great Napoleon, and it was left to British Americans to make the best of a hard job. How well they performed that job is witnessed by the Duke of Wellington, who has left on record his appreciation in these unmistakable, if complex terms:—"The operations of the late war, terminated in the year 1815 by the Treaty of Ghent, which was carried on with but little assistance from the mother country in regular troops, have demonstrated, that the provinces are capable of defending themselves against the efforts of their powerful neighbors." It is aggravating to hear self-constituted advocates of Imperial Federation, forsaking

real arguments in support of a sane enough policy, and, instead, representing Canada as a country which, if left to itself, would be incapable of nationhood, thereby neither justifying their position by a courageous argument nor giving credit to their country for its gallant military exploits of the past. Very heroic, indeed, was the defence made by Canada, for it was a defensive and unprovoked war on her part, and it is well to keep in mind, Brock and Queenstown Heights, Desallebury and Chateauguay, Lundy's Lane, the honorable names of Tecumseh and Joseph Brant, and, above all, the thousands of "unknown warriors," who in this, as in every war, since the foundation of the world, have done the most of the fighting and have reaped the least of the glory. Nor must be forgotten that gallant New Brunswick regiment, the 104th, entirely officered and recruited in the province, which made the long march from Fredericton to Quebec, in the dead of winter, through the vast and untrimmed forest, accomplishing a feat, which in point of the time it took and in point of endurance, has seldom been excelled by any troops anywhere. And New Brunswick rendered this assistance voluntarily, lessening thereby its own power of defence, should an attack have been made on her borders, against which there was no binding assurance.

CHAPTER V.

*Struggle for Popular Government—Head and McKenzie
—Papineau—The Rebellions in Canada.*

VERY soon after the close of this unhappy and useless war, a struggle began between the privileged party and the inhabitants at large. The real rulers of the provinces were the governors and their councils, while the power such representatives as the people had in the legislature was extremely limited. The members of the executive council were autocratic, generally not very intellectual, impressed with a sense of their own importance, and with the idea that anything in the way of popular government prevailing across the boundary line, ought to be avoided on the Canadian side, as if it were the plague. Perhaps in these days scarcely enough consideration is given to the difficulties and perplexities confronting the colonial office. It must be borne in mind that, at that time the people of Britain had by no means attained to the measure of self-government afterwards reached. Rotten boroughs existed and some of the ablest statesmen were returned to Parliament from ridings where the qualified electors numbered scarcely a score, while thousands and tens of thousands of the laboring class had no voice whatever in the regulation of public affairs. It was the day of,

God bless the squire and his rich relations
And keep us poor people in our proper stations.

The United States as a form of government was considered, yet, in the experimental stage, and many thoughtful students of public affairs doubted its permanence. The French revolution, with its reign of terror, was fresh in the minds of everyone. France was supposed to be as insane politically as many consider Russia today. Even the great Burke seems to have become obsessed

with the idea that anything like popular franchise, was a downward step, which must lead to the abyss of anarchy. It is, then, not altogether a matter of surprise, that those who held the reins of power over and in Canada, should hesitate before they passed them into the hands of men who might be disciples of Marat and Robespierre. It was too early after the French revolution for any but the few students to take note that the anarchy which had shortly ago prevailed, was but the natural sequence to the tyranny which had for long years preceded it. Just, as, now, only they who have taken the trouble to think, honestly, have a confident hope that within half a century, Russia may be one of the greatest and freest nations on the planet. Siberia with its dismal procession of student convicts—men and women who ventured to raise their votes against intolerable oppression, must not be forgotten, when we think of the old regime, the inevitable revolution and the not illogical result, the soviet. "I will weep over the children of the kings with you," says the republican hermit, to the good bishop, in Victor Hugo's famous masterpiece, "provided that you weep with me over the children of the people."

If there is one lesson really worth the learning in that ancient volume, which we profess to value so highly, and most of us read so seldom, it is that nations, like individuals, reap what they sow. It is recorded of one of the worst of a lot of bad kings, that "he made Israel to sin." Those to whom are entrusted the governance of their fellow men hold a trust which they should, but apparently seldom do, regard as serious in its possible consequences, for as they do their work faithfully, honestly, conscientiously and unselfishly, or the reverse, not only their own, but countless future generations benefit or suffer. Real patriots in all countries and in all ages, whose lives apparently were failures, have been the means of countless blessings to their fellow men of days to come, while selfish tyrants and worldly-minded politicians, cynically ambitious, regardless of all interests

but their own, have been the means of bringing untold miseries and unspeakable sufferings to millions, yet unborn. Lincoln may be regarded as the representative of the one class, Bismarck of the other. So, when we watch the slow progress in the development of self government in Canada, we must not withhold all credit from those who had a distrust of the demagogue, whose loud talk of freedom and liberty was frequently but a cheap veneer, covering a character boldly and cruelly selfish.

Two men, neither of whom was a native of the continent, seem to have been the principal factors in the Upper Canada rebellion. It would be difficult to conceive of two public men more diametrically opposite in characteristics than Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, and William Lyon McKenzie, the ardent and radical reformer. Head came of a family of great antiquity in Kent, and had a strain of foreign blood through his lineal descent from a Portuguese physician, who accompanied the spouse of Charles II. to England. He was an avowed aristocrat, a sincere monarchist and loyalist, a profound believer in the British constitution as it existed in his day, a defender of privilege, an advocate of the House of Lords in all its glory, and an out and out church and state man. He hated republicanism, and looked upon all reformers as potential republicans. It has been said that his appointment was a mistake, that the government meant to select his kinsman, Sir Edmund Head, who later became Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick and subsequently Governor General, a man of much more liberal views and more conciliatory attitude than his cousin. Perhaps this is why the reformers of Upper Canada welcomed the coming of Sir Francis, as a friend to reform, which he assuredly was not. Yet he was a man of high character and of supreme courage. During the dark days of the approaching rebellion, when informed that the United States might lend a hand in support of

the rebels, on the ground that they were striving to shake off the manacles of an arbitrary government, he replied, "let them come if they dare." He agreed to the regular troops being removed to Lower Canada for the suppression of the rebellion there, relying, and with good ground as it turned out, on the volunteers and the loyalty of the population. He scoffed at the idea of responsible government which he termed "odious." Yet, he was a great admirer of conditions in the province over which he was called to rule, and the climate he thought bracing and glorious.

He paid a high tribute to the amazing powers of expression and eloquence and reasoning amongst the chiefs of the Indian tribes with whom he made, on behalf of his sovereign, a solemn treaty. The spokesman of the tribes concerned, on this occasion, he said, made "an exordium, which in composition and mode of utterance would have done credit to any legislative assembly in the civilized world," and he added words expressive of the pleasure it gave him to visit "that simple, high-bred and virtuous race of men, the aborigines of the forest." He had a good word to say of the French Canadians. The people with whom he came in contact, in a social way, he liked, and his devotion to his friend, Chief Justice Beverley Robinson, was almost pathetic. After he was recalled to England, he, again and again, urged that Robinson should be heard, before Parliament, in opposition to the union of the Canadas and seemed to think, that if he were heard, his argument would be convincing and irrefutable. He bitterly opposed Lord Durham, whose report he intimated was that of a man bereft of his senses, and irresponsible for his actions.

McKenzie was probably, in principle, a republican, and one feels that if he had been in the New England colonies at the time of the revolution, he would have been on the side of the patriots, and with the minute men of Lexington, just as Head would, most assuredly, have been on the side of the King. It is not unlikely that this

forceful and talented Scotchman had formed his conception of kings from two examples, the one, that indiscreet monarch who tried to force episcopacy on a people to whom it was, at the time, at least, hateful; the other of a different house, whose brother was known as the "butcher of Culloden." In Canada he found, if not an arbitrary king, a queen's arbitrary representative, in the person of Head, and an arbitrary prelate in the person of Bishop Strachan, who by a strange coincidence, was a Scotchman like himself. But McKenzie did not advocate anything in the way of republicanism at the beginning of his career. He is said to have written a brief in favor of a union of the British provinces.

He was an able journalist, and a journalist of the day when the editor, and not a joint stock company limited, directed the policy of the paper. When some hot-headed youths, who did little credit to the cause they were allied with, broke into his office and scattered his type, he appealed to the courts for redress, and a jury of his countrymen gave him substantial damages. He was a convincing writer and attained a great measure of popularity. He was the first Mayor of Toronto, and was elected to the legislature. Not allowed to take his seat, he again and again appealed to the constituency, and again and again was triumphantly returned. He was a sort of Canadian Wilkes. But with all his qualities of mind and heart he lacked the grace of moderation, and his extreme views, which seemed to deepen as time went on, withdrew from him the support of many of the more restrained reformers. Howe, fighting the battles of the reformers in Nova Scotia, was utterly opposed to the violent means adopted by McKenzie, and his French Canadian confrere, Papineau, which he defined as "impolitic, unjustifiable and cruel." Baldwin in Upper Canada, pursued the course which recommended itself to Howe.

Leaving aside for the present the conditions which led to the outbreak of rebellion in Lower Canada, one cannot

understand why, under ordinary circumstances, the necessary reforms should not have been accomplished as easily and as gradually in Upper Canada as in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick. There were the same stamp of people in the three provinces. Had there been a less arbitrary governor than Head and a less violent agitator than McKenzie, there would probably have been no rebellion. Upper Canada gained no more by this unhappy outburst with its loss of decent men's lives by bullet and scaffold, than the provinces by the sea gained by peaceful means. Extremists on any side are always a danger, and in most instances, fate seems to spare their lives at the expense of the lives of more innocent followers. Neither of the two opposing chiefs gained much credit to himself. Head was recalled, and, his life being threatened, at the advice of friends, left quietly and by a back door, through the port of New York for home.

McKenzie was banished and underwent much hardship in his exile. He returned in time to Toronto, but his last days do not appear to have been very happy. To the man who can see humour in even tragic situations, there is a note of humour in Head, from his mansion, offering a reward for the apprehension of McKenzie, and McKenzie, from his seat on his "republic" on Navy Island, offering a counter reward for Head's head.

The dissatisfaction in Lower Canada was, certainly, not less than in the sister province west of the Ottawa. It was even, if anything, more aggravated by reason of the fact that the large majority was of an alien race to the powers that be. Louis Joseph Papineau was a forceful and aggressive personage, a man of magnetic attraction, and endowed with a power of eloquence which often led him to say things, which, afterwards, his better judgment must have advised had been better unsaid, or said in a different way. He was a true son of the soil, a native of the province, the son of a notary, and in his younger days was an officer in the militia and had served

in the War of 1812. He was one of the first to throw himself ardently into the agitation for responsible government. As speaker of the assembly, he was in constant opposition to, and in conflict with the governor and his executive. He was much farther in advance of his admiring supporters than McKenzie in Upper Canada and Howe in Nova Scotia, of theirs. If the ordinary English-speaking farmer had—as he undoubtedly did have—a vague idea of just how responsible government was going to directly benefit him, the French Canadian's conception of this reputed blessing must, in the nature of things, have been even more vague. The English colonist looked over the American boundary, and he saw a people who had a far larger share of government than he had, a people who fixed their own tariff, and whose legislative assembly was a real governing body. Perhaps he did not notice that they had any more real freedom or lived any happier lives, but at the same time, he may well have wondered why he should not be entrusted with at least a large part in the government of the land, where he produced the wealth. Was he not as intelligent as his fellow Yankee, and did he not spring from the same stock, that had ever been advancing along the path of popular rights since the day of Magna Charta?

The French Canadian was in another class altogether. He had been brought up on paternalism, and the doctrine of high authority, spiritual and temporal. The French Revolution had left him untouched and untainted. The step, for him, towards the goal of republicanism was a very long step indeed, and if he started going too fast, he might find himself as uncontrolled and as uncontrollable as his erring cousins in the motherland. The church, while it had no particular reason to love England and the English much, loved revolution and the revolutionary less. But Papineau was one of those magnetic individuals who can persuade his followers to go at almost any length on the spur of the moment. He could sway the mob with his commanding presence and his

burning eloquence. More, even, than McKenzie and very much more than Howe or Baldwin, he appealed to the emotions, and he had a much more emotional kind of people, more apt to be led by the heart than by the head, to appeal to. They had not acquired the habit of sustained reasoning. They were of the sort apt to rush headlong into difficulty without counting the cost, and to be sorry when it was too late in the day to undo the mistake. Just what this extraordinary man expected to accomplish or had in view, it is difficult, even at this stage, to understand. He could hardly have expected, considering the growing animosity between English and French that a union of any duration could be effected between the hard-headed and calculating English-speaking democrat and the warm-hearted and impulsive habitant. Nor could he, reasonably, have anticipated the establishment of a French Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, which would be liable to meet with little sympathetic support from the hierarchy and clergy of the province, whose influence with the inhabitants, even the eloquence of a Papineau could not, for long, affect. Even his fellow republicans below the forty-fifth parallel would be apt to view with some sort of cynicism, a republic made up of French Canadians. It may well be that Papineau was a convinced, a patriotic and sincere republican, but, if he were, he must have known that neither by training nor inclination was the ordinary habitant calculated to follow him with that determination, persistency, steadfastness and devotion necessary for the accomplishment of revolution. When matters were at the most strained point, Papineau and McKenzie had a conference in the City of Quebec. It would be most interesting to know what took place there between these two men, and what their real plans were—just what goal they were making for and expecting to reach, and by what means. There are many things in Papineau's career which lead us to the belief that he would have been more at home on the banks of the Seine

than on the banks of the St. Lawrence, that his proper place would have been with the revolutionaries of old France, and that Quebec, the most conservative of provinces or countries, was the wrong sphere for his progressive and radical activities. Yet, that he was far-seeing, and was not void of the gift of prophecy is shown by his prediction, read with interest in the light of present day events, "the time has gone by when Europe can give monarchs to America. The epoch is approaching when America will give republics to Europe."

The rebellions were quelled, after no inconsiderable loss of life and property. The utmost severity was dealt out, in Toronto, to a few of the leaders of the insurrection, the descendants of whom, are today among the city's most honoured citizens. McKenzie and Papineau both went into exile, but the rank and file of the rebels were not treated harshly. In Lower Canada, the Loyalists—those who styled themselves Loyalists during the rebellion were not all, and should not be confounded with, the Loyalists of the American Revolution—were much in the minority, and were disposed to be overbearing, thinking that the only way to hold the majority in hand was by a show of military force, and by debarring them forever from all share in offices of trust and emolument. In Upper Canada the majority was inclined to take a similar line of action with the minority. Head's refusal to sanction the appointment of Bidwell, a former speaker of the assembly and a stout reformer, to a seat on the bench, was the probable cause of his recall. This talented but headstrong governor was all for rewarding the loyal men who had stood by his side in the hour of danger, and while he was willing to extend leniency to the men in the ranks of the revolutionaries, he had no word of sympathy, or consideration, or forgiveness for the instigators and leaders.

Some years later, after the union of the two provinces, when Lord Elgin, Durham's son-in-law, was Governor General, he gave his assent to a rebellion losses bill.

Because some compensation was given to some of those who had suffered loss, whose sympathies and, possibly, actions were on the side of the would-be revolutionaries, there was angry protest from the Loyalists. The governor was insulted, pelted with stones and rotten eggs, and narrowly escaped serious damage to his person. So hostile was the mob, that it lost all control of itself, as mobs, once run amuck, always do. They set fire to the parliament buildings and burned them to the ground, whereby the good City of Montreal has suffered to this day, for never since has a legislature sat in the metropolis. The protesting leaders talked freely and loudly of annexation to the United States, which caused some considerable embarrassment to their political successors of a future day, when the opposite party was supposed to have leanings, or at least a slight cant, in that direction. It is rather amusing to find that in times of great excitement in those early and strenuous days, both parties, when shorn of power, if they did not really cast longing eyes to the great and growing democracy to the south, intimated to those in authority overseas that they did. McKenzie at one time at all events advocated annexation or at the very least a republic of his own.

Papineau boldly talked of it, while on one occasion the loyal minority in Lower Canada, before the union, loudly asserted if things did not become more to their liking it would be found that they would continue "to be English at the expense of being British," a veiled but unmistakable threat. And yet, if a public man or a public journal in England expressed the view that it would be better for the colonies to become independent, a howl went up from this side of the water that we were being deserted, and were being left—a helpless prey—to fall into the rapacious maw of the American spread eagle.

CHAPTER VI.

Durham and His Report—Joseph Howe—New Brunswick Boundary Dispute.

IT may be taken as a truism that a colonizing people are not gifted with the grace of conciliation. Their lives are active, energetic, combative. They must struggle with nature for a living, and they have neither the opportunity nor the inclination for thought and contemplation. In the nature of the thing, practical, they have a scorn for the theoretical and the idealistic. A leisured class, on the other hand, has every reason for being tolerant and considerate and delights in the study of philosophy, without which no real statesmanship can exist. To the everlasting honour of the representatives of the leisured class in England who had largely to deal with the Canadian problem, they showed a tolerance, a leniency, a consideration, and a forbearance to both sides of the angry controversy, which neither would show to the other. They seem to have looked upon the Canadas as noisy schoolboys, alive and overbubbling with physical health, who thoroughly enjoyed fistic encounters, but who, as they grew up, would become under the influence of reason. And, so, when the question, what to do about the Canadas became a very vital one on the floors of the Parliament at Westminster, and in the English press, when, even the girlish sovereign, just ascended the throne, was forming her opinions of the subject, according to the instructions and advice of her first prime minister and political mentor, Lord Melbourne, it was to the leading minds, who sat in consultation in famous Downing Street, that the world looked for a solution of the perplexing question.

The selection of Lord Durham as governor general and special commissioner, whether the choice was by happy chance, or by deliberate consideration, was a stroke of political sagacity. It was largely to depend on

this man as to whether the agitation and unrest in the Canadas would end in a preserving or a destroying revolution. Through the influence of his masterly report the former came about. It surely is the irony of fate that so many of the world's reformers see but little, if any, fruits of their labor. Durham was not of the few fortunate exceptions. He died within a very short while after his report, the subject of bitter discussion and debate, was finally adopted, and he had no way of knowing that coming generations would forever associate his name with the foundation of the premier dominion in the British commonwealth of nations. It was upon pressure from Lord Melbourne that he undertook the trying task of endeavouring to reduce chaos into order, and to effect a settlement of the much-debated Canadian question. It is characteristic of the man and his political views, that after his resignation owing to lack of support from the then home government, while official welcome home was withheld, he met on his arrival with a popular demonstration of approval. When a man has taken a large part in the formation of a nation, people listen with patience to a relation of leading incidents in his life, private as well as public, and look for something more distinctive than a paid paragraph in a *Who's Who*. Lord Durham, to whom, as has already been said, Canada owes so much and whose celebrated report has been styled "one of the greatest state papers in the English language," was born some few years before the dawn of the nineteenth century and died in his forty-fourth year, at an age when many public men are only coming into notice. His name was John George Lambton, and he came of a renowned Whig family. He, himself, after a short experience in the army, entered public life as an ardent and advanced reformer, so much so that he earned the nickname of "Radical Jack."

He favored the utmost extension of the franchise, and was one of the leading promoters of the famous Reform bill. On his father-in-law, Lord Grey, becoming prime

minister, Lambton was taken into the cabinet. Afterwards, he was raised to the peerage, but his elevation to a seat in the gilded chamber does not appear to have affected his advanced views in the least. He was a friend of the great political economist, John Stuart Mill. In his early days he touched hands with Lafayette, while before his demise he formed an acquaintance with, and won the admiration of Benjamin Disraeli. On his arrival in Canada, Durham set upon his task with the utmost promptitude. In a short time he amassed an amount of information of the utmost importance. Evidently it was not his intention to beat about the bush, but to get at the root of the matter at once. In his report, it will be noted that he avoids those "frauds of language" which, as he says, he met with when he tried to get at the real motives inspiring the parties to the controversy. By this apt term he indicates that actual motives were hidden or attempted to be hidden, and more plausible and worthy ones put forward as the main springs of action. But such subterfuge was useless in his case. When he, himself, came to make up his report he did not mince matters but called a spade a spade and not a loving cup.

Just about the time that the rebellions in the Canadas were coming to a head, a young man, named Joseph Howe, was elected a member of the Nova Scotia Legislature, for the City of Halifax. His father was King's Printer and Postmaster General, and an earlier ancestor had fought on the side of the King at Bunker Hill, so that Howe was of good British and Loyalist ancestry. Nor through his long stormy and creditable political career did this remarkable and talented man ever swerve in his devotion to British ideals and British customs. He gloried in the glory of Britain's past and predicted greater glory for the future. Animated by a most patriotic zeal and affection for his native land, Nova Scotia, or, Acadia, as he often called it in his prose and poetical writings, the thought never entered his mind that Nova Scotia should do anything to weaken the tie

binding her to the mother land. Taken from school at a very early age, he was thrust into the best kind of an advanced school, perhaps, a newspaper office. That his parents were cultured, is evidenced by the culture, without the aid of a college or even a high school education, he, himself, displayed. He mastered the classics and became a writer of classics himself. He began his career by associating himself with those advocating responsible government. His vigorous pen brought him into conflict with the magistrates of Halifax, who, there, as elsewhere in the British American colonies, had the system of local government in their hands. Arrested on a charge of criminal libel and tried before a jury, he handled his own case with such ability and dexterity that he was triumphantly acquitted, belying for once, at least, the generally accepted maxim, that the man who is his own lawyer has a fool for a client. His fearless attacks on persons in authority, who, he considered, were impeding progress, led to his being challenged to fight duels. He ignored several challenges on conscientious grounds, now, at all events easily understood, but finally the absurd charges of cowardice to which he was subject, so wrought upon him that he accepted a "meeting." Under the particular rules of this duel, the parties were not to fire simultaneously, but drew lots to decide who would have the first shot. Howe's opponent won the toss, and by good fortune, rather than intention, he missed his aim. Howe responded by firing in the air. Needless to say he was not bothered by any more challenges, nor was he again charged with cowardice. In the early part of his career he was a strong advocate of representation in the Imperial Parliament, and at one time he advocated a union of the British American colonies in some sort of federation. Nearly three-quarters of a century ago he predicted the time, when some of those then living would hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and when the journey from Halifax to the Pacific would be made in five or six days. Strange

to say when the scheme of Confederation developed into a practical question he set himself against it. He was present at neither the Charlottetown nor the Quebec conferences. His convincing eloquence was used in opposition to the scheme. Just what motives inspired him it is difficult to say. He may have thought it was against the interests of Nova Scotia, and he was not alone in that respect. He may have had the opinion that a legislature about to dissolve should not decide a question which should have been referred to the people at large.

As a matter of fact the government in Nova Scotia which approved Confederation was defeated on the first occasion that it went to the people. Or, like many other great men, it may have been the vulnerable heel of Achilles. Dr. Tupper was coming to the front and was as forcible and earnest in his advocacy of Confederation as Howe was against it. This may have had some influence in deciding his action. It is hard for a man like Howe, so long the idol of his compatriots, to brook a rival. He was severely attacked, in that, after Confederation became a fact, he entered the government. Yet, he may have been and probably was entirely sincere and patriotic in the action he then took. In as vital a question as Confederation a man might well be opposed to a measure involving such a radical change, yet when it became a fact, conceive it his duty to drop opposition and lend a helping hand in manning the ship, and this Howe did. But his great work—his *magnum opus*—was the securing of self-government for his native province, through constitutional means.

As time passes the name of Joseph Howe will increase rather than decrease in public estimation. He was Nova Scotia's great tribune, and was one of the leading men, who have arisen in British North America since the American revolution. A public man of parts, he was an orator, who would have graced any legislature at any time. He was a writer with a marvellous command of prose and a poet of no mean attributes. A mere material-

istic politician, with his snout close to the trough, by no possible conception of the imagination could have given thought to this utterance:—"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its greatest structures and fosters national pride of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past."

While the people of the Canadas were fighting amongst themselves, the Province of New Brunswick was seriously menaced by an outside foe. After the treaty of peace, following the American revolution, difference of opinion arose over the meaning of a section of the treaty, defining the boundary, particularly that part which divides the State of Maine and New Brunswick. The location of the highlands dividing the waters that flow into the St. Lawrence River from the waters that empty into the Atlantic Ocean was in question. The British urged that a chain of hills of which Mars Hill is the chief formed the highlands defined, while the contention of the United States was that the lands meant in the treaty were far away north, overtopping the Bay of Chaleur. The King of the Netherlands, who was accepted by both sides as an arbitrator, had recommended a line of boundary, nearly corresponding with that which at present exists, excepting that by the King's award more land was assigned to the United States than the Webster-Ashburton treaty afterwards gave.

Great Britain accepted the finding, but the United States repudiated it. A large tract of land along the River Saint John, heavily lumbered, and of fertile acreage, when cleared, formed the "disputed territory." While matters were in this highly inflammable condition, lumber operators, from both sides, invaded the tract of land in question. There were arrests and counter arrests, and finally things came to such a pass that volunteers from New Brunswick and volunteers from Maine faced each other, and only an interchange of rifle shots re-

mained to plunge the two nations into the horrors of war. The occasion was the more serious that just at this period, troops were passing through New Brunswick from Halifax to assist in quelling the disturbances in the upper provinces.

If there was any sentiment of encouragement of the Canadian rebels in New Brunswick even amongst those who were fighting the battle for responsible government, it was not audible, and the troops were aided and assisted in every way on their long march. New Brunswick was calling out its available militia, who responded valiantly, and Nova Scotia came to the assistance of the sister province, so seriously menaced, with lavish offers of men and money. Howe, the great reformer, rose nobly to the occasion. When it came to be a question of danger to his country or the Empire, there was not the slightest doubt in his mind or hesitation in his action. Supporting a resolution pledging the people of Nova Scotia to aid their brethren on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, Howe expressed the hope "that such an expression of feeling would go with the resolution as to satisfy our brothers in New Brunswick, that we are determined to aid them in the coming contest in which they are about to be engaged."

As every student of this question knows, the matter was finally settled, without recourse to arms, thanks to the sanity and saving common sense of the commanders-in-chief of the opposing forces, Sir John Harvey, Governor of New Brunswick, and General Winfield Scott of the United States Army, who refused to be stampeded into loosing the dogs of war, because of the depredations of a lot of selfish lumbermen of both countries.

In submitting his report, when Lord Durham said that while he had expected to find, in Lower Canada, a contest between a government and a people, he found instead, two nations warring in the bosom of a single state, his statement was perfectly true, much as it has

been criticized and pooh-poohed as a dismal finding. His picture of the social life of the French Canadians was true to life and would apply in many rural communities today. They were mild, kindly, frugal, industrious and honest, very sociable, cheerful and hospitable, and distinguished for a courtesy and politeness which pervaded every class of society, but, withal, they remained an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world. Completely obeying leaders who ruled them with the influence of blind confidence and narrow national prejudices, they accorded very little, with the resemblance which had been discovered in that high spirited democracy which effected the American revolution. He found that the government had made a very serious mistake in not cultivating and enlisting on its side the services of the professional classes, which, while derived from the habitant population, was composed of individuals, who, after the completion of their education, mingled with the utmost terms of social intimacy, with the class from which they sprang, and exercised a tremendous influence in moulding opinion on public questions. He found the French asserting the most democratic doctrines, but apparently using their democratic arms for conservative purposes. Amongst the English population he found a bold and intelligent and somewhat turbulent democracy, continually professing an extravagant loyalty and high prerogative doctrine, loudly asserting their devotion to the British Crown and constitution, very determined in maintaining in their own persons a great respect for popular rights, and singularly ready to enforce their wishes by the strongest means of constitutional pressure on the government. Every measure of clemency or even justice to their opponents they regarded with jealousy, and they did not hesitate to say that they would not tolerate any longer being made the sport of parties at home. And these national prejudices he found, as we know to be the case today either amongst the French or the English, exercised the most

influence on the least educated. Durham was convinced that sooner or later the English race would predominate, even numerically in Lower Canada. He regarded it but a vain endeavour to preserve a French Canadian "nationality" in the midst of Anglo-Saxon colonies and states. At the same time he had a vision of a confederation of the provinces. He feared that the influence of the French would be used to obstruct the government, although honest co-operation of the various parties might accomplish much, he concedes, to the alleviation of the difficulty. To sum up the whole situation in Lower Canada he found that the cause and root of the trouble was racial, but although racial, not religious. He found, at that time, that while religion formed no bond of intercourse and union, yet it was an admirable feature of Canadian society that it was entirely devoid of religious dissensions. Sectarian intolerance was not merely, not avowed, but it hardly seemed to influence men's feelings. Whether this high tribute is still justified, the reader may decide, but it bears out, what has been asserted, by students of history, that any religious animosity which may have since developed, was largely due to seed sown by a newer class of immigrants, who brought it with them from a land where it plentifully flourished, and was apparently, highly prized as one of the chief characteristics of its inhabitants. Indeed the problem was singularly complex, and one to tax the ingenuity of the most far-seeing statesman. The Assembly was the popular elective chamber. The Executive and Legislative Councils, appointed by the governor, held a majority which represented the English minority. The English minority complained that when they petitioned the Assembly for appropriations for better roads and other facilities to foster agricultural and commercial development, their petitions fell on deaf ears. The Assembly did not see the need of these things, and also did not wish to inaugurate any policy which would lead to an increase in the English population or the English influ-

ence. So, the minority turned to the Executive Council and the Council carried out these required works, in spite of opposition from the popular chamber.

"The Assembly complained of the oppressive use of the power of the Executive. The English complained that they, a minority, suffered under the oppressive uses to which power was turned by the French majority. Thus a bold and intelligent democracy was compelled by its impatience for liberal measures, joined to its natural antipathies, to make common cause with a government which was at issue with the majority on a question of popular rights." The situation in Lower Canada was unique. In Upper Canada the problem was similar to that which was gradually being worked to a solution by the governments and people concerned in the Maritime Provinces. It arose out of the insistent demand for responsible government. The term, responsible government, was used freely and was constantly in the mouths of people, who, really, did not grasp with any exactitude its meaning. In a nut shell it simply meant that the government of the province should be in the hands of the duly elected representatives, that the executive should be answerable to the people who elected them. Up to the time of the adoption of this principle, the governor ruled and governed in fact as well as in theory. He was appointed and paid by the authorities in England and his legislative policy was carried out in consultation with them. The legislative assembly had only one means of control; they could withhold supplies, after all a very effective remedy. The governor appointed his own executive, often members of the entourage he brought with him, and not as a matter of course inhabitants of the province. The governor appointed the legislative councillors and appointments to the civil service were made by him, subject, of course, to the approval of the British Government. Judges sat on the bench and at the same time in the council at times, and they were generally drawn from the ranks of those who did not favour the

extension of popular rights. Just at the present time there is some discussion about trial by jury, a mode of trial which has been much valued, since the principle was enacted in Magna Charta. The jurors, many times, stood between arbitrary judges and the rights of the public. Had McKenzie's or Howe's trial been without a jury, at that particular period, the result would doubtless have been different. At the same time the appointees to the bench in those early days were men of honour, principle and ability, and their decisions, after a long lapse of time, compare favourably with the dicta of their successors of today. And the same may be said with regard to the appointees to other branches of the civil service. They regarded their offices as places of trust, and had a fine conception of the duty of service. But the whole system was utterly in conflict with the idea of democracy, and to attempt to impede the progress of democratic institutions on the North American continent was about as futile a task as to try to change the flow of the St. Lawrence, seaward, and make it empty its mighty waters into the bosom of the Great Lakes.

CHAPTER VII.

Conditions in Upper Canada—Civil List Bill in New Brunswick—Grey's Dispatch on Responsible Government.

UPPER Canada presented a problem not so complex, but scarcely less difficult than that awaiting solution in the sister province. True the question of race did not arise. It was not English vs. French; it was English vs. English, and every student knows that civil wars, like family quarrels, are marked by extreme bitterness. Indeed a family quarrel of large dimensions, within recent years, had caused the separation of the prosperous and rapidly developing Atlantic colonies from the parent state. Neither race nor religion had anything to do with this, one of the most momentous separations in the history of mankind. The situation in Upper Canada and in the Maritime Provinces was much the same, excepting that in Upper Canada, owing to rebellion and consequent ill feeling, it was much more acute. The Family Compact existed in Upper Canada. It also existed in the Acadian provinces. This rather unique and somewhat overbearing association of individuals and families was mainly composed of United Empire Loyalists. Naturally, they had taken a leading part in the formation of the new British provinces, and naturally, too, when the provinces grew and developed, they wished to retain the leadership. But in the meantime, other classes of people had come and soon became as numerous if not as influential as the original founders. With the introduction of the representative system an ever increasing number of members came from these less aristocratic classes. The governors and their entourages stood pretty closely by the Compact, and the Compact being largely, but by no means exclusively, United Empire Loyalists, looked for support and generally got it, from the Colonial Secretary's office in London.

The ruling class were very strong not only on British connection, but on British imitation. Upper Canada, they wished to be as exact a replica as possible of England and as exact an opposite as possible of the United States. The more extreme of them seemed to wish to ignore their own continent. The Clergy Reserves was really an attempt to set up an established church. Large tracts of land were set apart for the purpose of the founding of rectories. This was very unpopular with the reforming party, who, at least, professed to be averse to anything like privilege in the matter of religious belief. Durham denounced the principle of the Clergy Reserves. He pointed out the difference between the position of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada and in England. He might have added that while the atmosphere in England was Anglican, in the British American provinces outside of Lower Canada it was largely Puritan. The position of the clergy in the colonies, he urged, must be missionary rather than parochial, an opinion which time has justified. Of course the real crux of the situation was the struggle between the elected and the nominated branches of the legislature. An elected assembly pledged to a course of action in the management of provincial affairs found themselves helpless in the face of the power exercised by an appointed Executive and Legislative Council. Such a conflict could not go on forever without something breaking and there was the danger ever present that matters might become so serious as to lead to the obliteration of the boundary between the States and the colonies. "The influence of the United States," said the commissioner, "surrounds him (the Canadian) on every side and is forever present. It extends itself as population and intercourse increases; it penetrates every portion of the continent into which the restless spirit of American speculation impels the settler or the trader. It is felt in all the transactions of commerce, from the important operations of the monetary system down to the minor details of ordinary traffic; it stamps on all the

habits and opinions of the surrounding countries, the common characteristics of the thoughts, feelings and customs of the American people."

Here was the trouble in a nut shell. Representative government in name, only, might work elsewhere than in America. In America it would not work, with the example of the growing nation to the south always before the Canadian colonist, and the Commissioner proceeds to suggest a remedy for the disease. "If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, it can only be done by raising up for the North American colonist some nationality of his own; by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful. . . . We must remove from these colonies the cause to which the sagacity of Adam Smith traced the alienation of the provinces which now form the United States; we must provide some scope for what he calls 'the importance' of the leading men in the Colony beyond what he forcibly terms the present 'petty prize of the paltry raffle of colonial faction.'" A quarter of a century afterwards, when the subject of Confederation had got beyond academic discussion, and when the goal was in plain view, John A. Macdonald, gave expression, on the floors of the Canadian legislature to sentiments, singularly significant and striking, in view of Lord Durham's recommendation, "For twenty long years I have been dragging myself through the dreary waste of colonial politics. I thought there was no end, nothing worthy of ambition, but, now, I see something which is really worth while for all we have suffered in the cause of our little colony." "The petty prize of the paltry raffle of colonial faction" and "the dreary waste of colonial politics" are complimentary one to the other.

When Durham came to sum up his findings and to make his recommendations, it is interesting to note that

the hope in his heart was a confederation of all the British colonies. He says as much, but regarded it as impracticable at once, because he conceived that all the powers the French possessed would be used to obstruct the government. He half admits that time and honest co-operation of the various parties might accomplish much to the alleviation of this difficulty, but in his opinion, time could not be extended. Something must be done at once, and that something was the union of the two Canadas, with a proviso that in the future the other provinces, if they wished, might come into the union, or form a federation. He considered English predominance absolutely essential. With the larger population in Upper Canada, and the substantial minority in Lower Canada, an English majority would control in the united legislature. He then falls into error, in his confident prediction that immigration from Britain will overcome the French majority and that Quebec, in time, would become an English-speaking province. His argument is based on two premises, neither shown to be correct by the verdict of history, at least so far. He thought a French Quebec on an Anglo-Saxon continent a practical impossibility, and he mistook the antipathy of the French Canadian to a type of English, which he himself calls noisy and turbulent in the Canadas, for animosity to the English people at large, and to the Crown and Constitution of Great Britain. Of animosity to the Crown there has not ever been any indication amongst the French Canadians. Indeed, they are, perhaps, more favourably disposed to the principle of monarchy than the English. Authority they are taught to respect, and monarchy and hierarchy go well, hand in hand. But the French Canadian has the idea, and who will say it is not a correct idea, the same that Benjamin Franklin tried so hard to hammer into the obtuse heads of the autocrats governing England in the days before the revolution, that allegiance is due and owing from Canadians to the King of Great Britain, who is also the King of Canada, one of the dominions

beyond the seas, but allegiance they do not owe to the merchants of Liverpool and Manchester nor to the brewers and distillers of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Turning from the turmoil and strife in the Canadas, the commissioner extended his report to conditions in the Maritime Provinces, which he did not visit, personally, but where he sent Major Head, an official in whom he had the utmost confidence. In these provinces there was found much less discontent, because "there had recently been a considerable departure from the ordinary course of the colonial system and a nearer approach to sound constitutional practice." This, it is pointed out, was markedly the case in New Brunswick.

It has been remarked that men who accomplish great deeds, seldom see the full fruition in their lifetime. Pitt, heart broken at the successive triumphs of Napoleon, bade his auditors fold up the map of Europe, as it would not be needed for these many years. Washington and Lincoln both died in view of political storms which threatened the very existence of the country they loved. In our day Wilson, with his noble attempt to induce mankind to recognize that they are human beings in the Divine image and not just brute beasts, and that war is the peculiar invention of Satan, repudiated by his own country, ridiculed by the knights of the shining sword, appears to have been a failure. In a smaller way, as is pointed out, Durham, striving for a solution of the Canadian question, which would retain the colonies within the Empire, died amid the execration of his political enemies, and with the charges of cowardice and treason in his ears. A colonial secretary about the time, one Lord Glenelg, spoken of as "the last of the Canningites," passed out of office, in disfavour with his sovereign, and condemned for his wavering and feeble policy. Yet the provinces, where through his enlightened views, the principle of responsible government was first tested, formed such a high regard for him, that by special request his portrait was painted at the public expense and

hung in the legislative assembly chamber of New Brunswick, where it still is,—a fine portrait and an attractive work of art.

The changes in the way of constitutional reform which caused such a commotion in the upper provinces, came about comparatively easily and gradually in New Brunswick. It is true that there were frequent and sharp collisions between the governors and councils on the one hand and the representatives of the people on the other. It is equally true that, for a period there were processions of deputations from the province to the "foot of the throne," but at no time was there any hint of rebellion or revolution. The reformers, led by Lemuel Allan Wilmot, were as loyal to the principle of the British constitution as the most devoted of the governor's supporters. Wilmot, himself, came from an old and distinguished Loyalist family. The entire population in the province was in the finest sense of the term, conservative. The original founders had come, most of them, from the New England colonies and had been accustomed to representative institutions, and to a certain measure of independence in thought and action, which in no way militated the idea of sound constitutional monarchical government. Long before the rebellions in the Canadas the first important step had been taken on the trail leading to complete responsible government. It came about without much ado. In time it was decided that the Executive and the Legislative Councils should be separate bodies and the Colonial Office recommended that at least some members of the Executive should be chosen from the members in the Legislative Assembly.

King William the Fourth is widely known as the sailor king. He also bore the complimentary title of the People's Friend. Once on an important occasion, when it was something to have the ear of a king, the same King William proved himself to be a friend to the people of New Brunswick. It was early in the eighteen hundred and thirties, that matters came to a deadlock between the

governor and his council, apparently responsible to nobody much, and the representatives of the people of the province who were hard at work building up a prosperous community. A very large amount of the revenue of the province was derived from what was known as the Territorial and Casual revenue. Money received from the sales and lease of Crown lands, was collected and dispensed by the governor and his advisors, without any reference to the wishes of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Grants and leases were made to favoured parties. This condition became in time so intolerable to the stamp of men who sat in the Assembly and the Legislative Council that a strong resolution was passed with almost unanimity, and Mr. Wilmot and Mr. William Crane were appointed a delegation to present the resolution to the King and discuss the grievances under which the representatives of the people laboured. It is said that the King was very much impressed with the wording of the resolution. His Majesty, perhaps found the reformers of New Brunswick more reasonable and respectful than the violent agitators of the Canadian provinces. At all events the delegates met with the utmost encouragement, and the result was a bill which they brought back for submission to the legislature and for the approval of the governor. But the governor, although he had no very considerable support, withheld his consent, and endeavoured to defeat the ends of the proposed Act. He was sufficiently successful in his acts of obstruction, to make it necessary for the same delegates again to cross the ocean and again to go over the ground which they thought they had sufficiently covered. Among the heavy lessees of these Crown lands was the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, which had acquired the control of an immense tract of land, ostensibly for the purpose of assisting worthy settlers from the old country in establishing homes in the forest lands of New Brunswick. Those opposing the proposed reform tried their best to have the proceeds of these lands exempt

from the provisions of the Civil List Bill as the proposed bill was called. For a time they succeeded, but Wilmot's second visit brought matters to a climax, and he came home assured not only that the bill would pass as it was originally framed, but that Sir Archibald Campbell, the governor, had resigned and that his place would be filled by the appointment of Sir John Harvey, a gentleman, whom the Province of New Brunswick has reason to remember with affection and regard. The Civil List Bill became law. It was a most important and far-reaching piece of legislation. Under its provisions a certain sum of money out of the Territorial and Casual revenue was appropriated for the Civil List, that is the payment of the salaries of the governor and all the other members of the civil service of the province. The rest of the revenue from this source was to form part of the general revenue of the province. And it was further provided that within a few days after the opening of the legislature the governor and council should submit a detailed account, with vouchers of the expenditure of all the monies derived from the Territorial and Casual revenue. In a way the governor became responsible to the legislature. Furthermore, no sales of Crown lands in the future were to be made except by public auction and to the highest bidder.

At the time (1837) and under the circumstances this was regarded as a very great concession in the direction of popular government. It was hailed with shouts of approval by all the moderate reformers in Nova Scotia and in the Canadas, but met with unsparing condemnation from Sir F. B. Head, the governor of Upper Canada, who complained that the reformers of New Brunswick were building a constitution for Upper Canada. The Civil List Bill was the most progressive legislation passed in any British colony, and the model for concessions in other parts of the British American provinces.

Men's deeds for good or ill come up for judgment at the bar of public opinion, long after the individuals have

ceased their earthly labours. It is found that Sir John Harvey's contributions to the work of preserving Canada to the British Empire were most valuable. Assuredly he was one of the enlightened and far-seeing of the colonial governors. Not only did he consent to the Civil List Bill but he approved of it. At the time of the Boundary dispute, in association with an American general, he prevented a dispute between the Province of New Brunswick and the State of Maine from developing into open war, the disastrous consequences of which no one could foretell. After his term as governor of New Brunswick he became governor of the sister Province of Nova Scotia, and it was without doubt his co-operation with Earl Grey that led to the latter's famous message, by which the principle of responsible government was finally recognized.

Just ten years after the passage of the Civil List Bill Earl Grey's dispatch was forwarded to Sir John Harvey, then the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. The Civil List Act, Lord Durham's report and Grey's dispatch all came about in the decade 1837-47, and they are the three principal documents embodying the principle of responsible government. A brief synopsis of the two former has been given. The Grey dispatch is a most significant state paper, and no student of Canadian public affairs can afford to pass it by. It is therein freely recognized that the governor of a province in administering its affairs should have the advice and assistance of those who could command the confidence of the legislature and more especially of that branch which directly represents the people. A sharp distinction was made between "political officers," that is, as we would term them, now, the members of the cabinet, who would change with changing governments after popular elections and other public servants whose tenure of office should be held independently of party changes. Anything like the spoils system was unsparingly condemned. "There is," writes the Colonial Secretary, "scarcely any part of the system

of government in this country (England) which I consider of greater value than that, which though not enforced by written laws, but deriving its authority from usage and public opinion, makes the tenure of the great majority of officers in the public service to depend on good behaviour." After a learned and thorough analysis of the entire situation the conclusion is reached and expressed that the "peculiar circumstances of Nova Scotia present no insuperable obstacle to the immediate adoption of that system of parliamentary government which has long prevailed in the mother country, and which seems a necessary part of representative institutions in a certain stage of their progress." Throughout the dispatch, the term responsible government is used as having a well recognized and accepted meaning. It is a matter of interest that in the whole of Durham's long report the term is never mentioned, a fact that the author rather naively recalls when he addressed the British Parliament on the subject. Grey's dispatch was adopted by the New Brunswick Legislature the following year.

CHAPTER VIII.

Attacks on the Durham Report—Union of Upper and Lower Canada.

LORD Durham's report created a sensation in the political world. The attack on it was bitter and came from many sides, while at first, at all events, whole hearted support was withheld. Sir Francis Head was then in England. His fulminations against the recommendations contained in the report carried quite a weight in conservative circles, none the less that Head was a skilful writer and a master in the art of vituperation. The Family Compact men in the Canadas on the one hand, and the French Canadians on the other opposed the union, but from different motives. The English extremists objected to the restoration of representative government to the French, while the French opposed the proposition because their representative government would be shadow without the substance—an aggravating nullity.

Lord Haliburton, the celebrated author of Sam Slick, well known and highly regarded in England, lifted his voice against the union, and made the astounding assertion on the public platform that an advocate of the ballot box and extended suffrage was not the man to govern a colony. Lower Canada, he said, had not been used to representative government, and if under French control would have not thought of asking for it. The Albion, a paper of strong British tendencies, and published in New York, with a large circulation in the British colonies, pronounced the report replete of dangerous doctrines, and in dealing with the suggestion that the other colonies might in time come into the union, expressed the hope that they would do nothing of the kind. "Lord Durham has, we fear, sown the seeds of discord," this journal adds. It refers caustically to the "chimera of responsible government," and deeply regrets that many loyal and well disposed persons have swallowed the "pernicious

delusion." Further it is asked how a governor can, possibly, be responsible to his sovereign and at the same time to the people of the colony.

In the British Parliament the situation of the Canadas was the subject of many debates. Charles Buller complained of the dillydallying on the part of the government in giving effect to the recommendations in the report, and that the big question of the Canadas is shelved, while "some petty matter of municipal importance occupies the time of Parliament." "Hanging people," he adds, "is not likely to produce conciliation," an unmistakable reference to the execution of Lount and Matthews. Sir Robert Peel could not see that the prospect was at all enticing and thought the conditions in the Canadas were as bad as they had been five years before. Durham's own speech on his own report was a model of moderation and sound reasoning. He did not advocate hurry in the matter, but deprecated unnecessary delay. If they gave the Canadian people all the freedom which they themselves enjoyed as to representative institutions, if they gave them the power to regulate their own affairs, to vote money and refuse supplies, and denied them the results of that freedom, it was impossible to imagine that there would be satisfaction in the colony. Without that, there would be no peace, and he adds that it would be better to give up the colony altogether if that could not be done.

Lord John Russell was not prepared to lay down the principle—a new principle for the government of colonies—that we ought to subject the Executive there to the same restrictions as prevailed in England. The Duke of Wellington took a hand in the debate. He would not oppose the bill, when the Upper Canadian Legislature had accepted the principle. Very naturally the famous general was insistent on the establishment of the Queen's authority by force if necessary, and he again paid a tribute of respect to the volunteers and militia of Canada for their services during the late rebellion. The eloquent

O'Connell joined his powerful voice to those who advocated the adoption of the report. He considered the report on the whole, admirable, but regretted to find a recommendation to the effect that the political privileges of the French Canadians should be annihilated. Was this the way to conciliate them? The way to deal with Canada was to deal generously. Lower Canada could not be conciliated by giving "superiority to a race, that in everything but education was inferior to the French Canadian."

In the meantime the Upper Canada Assembly had not been idle. The representative principle had been taken away from Lower Canada after the rebellion. Upper Canada did not extend the olive branch very far towards their French Canadian brethren. In a set of resolutions concerning the union it is, among other things suggested that a portion of the lower province, east of the Madawaska and south of the St. Lawrence, covering the counties of Gaspé, Bonaventure, and Rimouski be detached from Lower Canada and annexed to New Brunswick. New Brunswick does not appear to have made any particular demand for this territory, and it may be taken for granted that Upper Canada was quite as considerate then, as it is today of its own particular interest. Of course, only the English language was to be tolerated on the floors of the legislature, and while Upper Canada was to have its full quota of representatives, Lower Canada was to be confined to the arbitrary number of fifty. The permanent capital was to be in Upper Canada. During the debates on these resolutions, some interesting views were expressed as to the future government of the British American colonies. For instance, Mr. Hagerman, the Attorney-General, expressed approval of such legislation as would incorporate the colonies into a kingdom, along with Scotland and Ireland, governed by a viceroy, and the doing away altogether with local legislatures, and having instead representation in the Imperial Parliament.

Sir John Colborne, the Governor of Upper Canada, a high minded gentleman and a soldier of repute, was all for the loyal men and was in no way favourable to concessions to the rebels. These are but a few indications of hostility to the report. It is well known that when Durham arrived at Plymouth official welcome was denied him, although the municipal authorities presented him with flattering addresses. Lady Durham showed a proper spirit, when, on noticing the affront paid to her husband, she promptly resigned her position at Court. There have been few more striking instances of the incapacity of one generation to pass mature judgment on the outstanding acts of the public men of its period. It is true, that in time the recommendation of the report was adopted, but it was with the utmost misgivings even amongst many of those who voted for it, while howls of disapproval met each other crossing the ocean.

To Poulett Thompson was allotted the task of securing the acquiescence of the Canadas in the act uniting the two provinces. The task was not one to the liking of a statesman, who might fancy and prefer the easy walks of official life. Thompson seems to have been a happy selection. Durham had accomplished the heavier work, which perhaps had much to do with his early death. In connection with him one recalls Roosevelt's words, that a statesman—that is a real statesman—must be ready to sacrifice, at crucial times, his present, and even his future political life for his country, just as the soldier must be ready to give up his physical life.

Mr. Thompson's reception was, to say the least of it, not cordial. In high Canadian circles, it was feared that he was tainted with the doctrines of that "prescious document," the Durham report. When he reached Toronto, the centre of articulate loyalty, then as now, he was met with an address from the corporation, in which reference was made to the proposed union which, "if it did not predicate the ascendancy of the loyal part of the inhabitants, or which should ever give those who

from education, habits and prejudices are aliens, and more especially those who had been connected with open rebellion or treasonable conspiracy against the government, the same rights and privileges as the loyal British population, would be fatal to the connection of this province with the parent state."

To this address the new governor made a dignified and a firm reply. He said that the reunion of the provinces was recommended by Her Majesty's government, from a deep conviction that it would cement the connection between the colonies and the parent state, which it was the firm determination of Her Majesty's government to maintain inviolate, and which to be of permanent advantage, must be founded upon the principle of equal justice to all Her Majesty's subjects. But even this quite apparent snub from official headquarters failed to quiet the agitation, and there was much loud talk about the injustice and the unwisdom of the proposed union and of the "profound absurdity" of so called responsible government.

The two provinces became united in name, at all events. It was certainly not a marriage of love, but rather one of convenience urged and even hastened, by a parent, tired to death with constant squabbles and pulls at a mother's apron strings. Upper Canada, as was to be expected, got the best of the bargain. The lesser population was there, but the representation in the united legislature was equal. Upper Canada did not at that time urge very vehemently, the principle of representation by population, which became its popular battle cry, when its population became much larger. The selection of a capital was left to the governor and Kingston was the choice. After awhile Montreal became the capital, but in time of great political excitement, some of the violent partizans burned down the Parliament buildings. Another choice had to be made and the decision to hold alternate parliaments at Quebec and Toronto every four years was made. English was the official language, although as time passed permission to use French in



debates was granted. The United province assumed the debt of Upper Canada which at that time had attained to alarming dimensions as debts went in those days. Quebec had very little to say as to its fate. Since the rebellion it had been governed by a council with an English-speaking majority. The English members of the council voted solemnly for the union and the French members voted as solemnly against it and thus it carried.

All in all the union of the two Canadas has worked well for the Dominion at large. It threw the two people together, and there is nothing like friendly intercourse to brush away misunderstandings.

English and French public men, who would have not met each other otherwise, met and discussed matters of public interest and, of course, such discussion was fruitful of good. It is true that among the bigoted, hot-headed and ignorant of both tongues differences led to conflicts and blows. But it is equally true that among the tolerant, cool-headed and thoughtful differences led to conferences, understanding and compromise.

John A. Macdonald, who as a lad had shouldered his musket, a volunteer in the loyalist army of Allan MacNabb, formed a personal and political friendship with George E. Cartier, who as a hot rebel had taken up arms under Papineau, which lasted through the trying days of Confederation and only closed with the death of Cartier. George Brown, the founder of the *Toronto Globe*, and the redoubtable voice of Upper Canada puritanism, and Anglo-Saxon ascendancy, became the intimate friend and associate of Aime Dorion, who perhaps as much as any public man of the day, represented the French Canadian spirit of the lower province. As time passed certain English-speaking candidates were elected from Quebec constituencies and French-speaking candidates from ridings in Upper Canada. Lafontaine, the one time French Canadian reformer, found a seat in one of the Haldimands, while Robert Baldwin, best of all the Upper Canada reformers, represented during one parliament a constituency in Lower Canada.

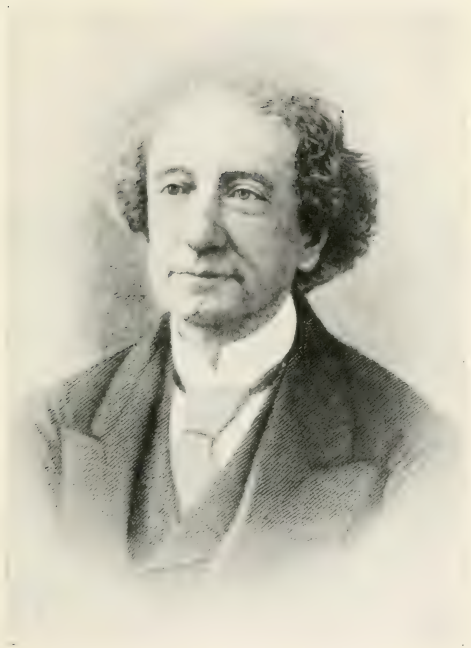
CHAPTER IX.

Canada Under Union—Legislative Council—Strife Over the Capital and Representation by Population—Steps Towards Confederation.

THE quarter of a century or so, in which the two Canadas worked or tried to work in harness together, was an important epoch, not only in the Canadas but in the world's history. It was the opening and developing of the steam travel age. Steamships were just proving their utility and railways were in course of construction. All in all, the invention of steam locomotion in travel is the most significant of inventions, and to this day nothing has been found to supplant the steamship and the steam railway trains.

With this development prosperity dawned on the British North American provinces and the Canadas were, of course, the banner colonies from a material standpoint. Factories started and business generally prospered. The habitant in Lower Canada, or Canada east, followed the even tenor of his ways, producing children and crops and staying to the third and fourth generation on the land of his fathers. Canada west experienced a wonderful stream of immigration, almost entirely from the British Isles, and it was not a great while before the population of the western province equalled and then excelled that of the eastern. Then, arose a demand for representation by population, which continued to be more and more insistent, and only died out with the Confederation pact.

Towards the middle period of the union of the Canadas a reciprocity treaty was arranged with the United States, in which all the other British colonies participated and under which the natural products of soil, forest and sea were interchanged free of duty. This was undoubtedly of great benefit to the provinces, which found the larger market of the New England and New York states a great advantage.



Adams

A constitutional change worthy of more note than most local historians have given it, was made, after the experiment of union had been under way ten years or so. At the time of the union, the legislative council was made nominative. It would seem that it became to be a very useless body of men, unheedful of their duties, many of them absent from their seats, and most of them incompetent and indifferent.

The very fact that the governor, Lord Elgin, regarded the situation so critical as to call for a radical change in the formation of the council, shows what sort of a legislative body it had become. It was finally decided to change the upper chamber from a nominative to an elective house, and the necessary legislation was secured from the Home Government, without much difficulty. The bill carried in the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas with an overwhelming majority, only four members of a House of eighty registering themselves against the proposed change. The new council was to consist of forty-eight members elected from certain assigned large districts, and each member was elected for eight years. There was an arrangement under which one-fourth of the members of the council went to the people every two years, and thus touch was had with the electorate at certain fixed periods, a procedure based on the American constitution. The old appointed members were allowed to retain their seats during their lives. When the question of Confederation arose and seemed to take practical shape, the mode of selecting the members of the Senate, was most important and the debates in the Canadian assembly and council are to be read with interest. The idea that the elective body was found unsatisfactory does not at all appear to be borne out by the tone of the debates. On the contrary, it was working well, and there is nothing to indicate that the system would have been changed had Confederation not been brought about. At that time it must be remembered that Prince Edward Island had an elective upper house, so that the Canadas were not alone in this regard.

It is not necessary to enter at length into detail of the debate on this very important question, but a short reference to some of the remarks may not be unedifying. Mr. Reesor was one of the members strongly opposed to the nominative principle, and the words read in light of the history of the Canadian Senate, were not idle prophecy. In the first place he considered that the oftener any public man was brought in touch with the people to find out their wishes, the better. Continuing,—

“ We know that the effect will be to find a place in this House for the men distinguished for the aid they have given to certain men and parties, and not as a reward for true merit or legislative ability. The government which appoints a man, as long as it remains in power, will look for and receive his cordial support, but let it be defeated and a ministry formed out of the opposite party and there will be a danger of a deadlock between the two branches of the legislature.”

Edward Blake said that he had always been in favour of the elective principle in the constitution of the legislative council. Mr. Hector Langevin, on the contrary, declared that the people of Quebec were tired of the elective council. Significant were the utterances of (Sir) John A. Macdonald, not only because of what is contained in them, but coming from the source they did, for Mr. Macdonald, at that time, may have been said to represent the Conservative and even the Family Compact party. “The arguments,” he said, “for an elective council are numerous and strong, and I do say, as one of an administration responsible for the introducing of the elective principle, that I hold this principle has not been a failure in Canada, but there were causes why it did not succeed as well as could be expected.”

So strongly was Mr. A. A. Dorion, a very prominent Lower Canadian opposed to the adoption of the nominative principle in the second chamber of the new Dominion Parliament, that he withheld his support from the whole scheme of Confederation, an attitude that which would

not indicate that all of Quebec was of Mr. Langevin's opinion. For upwards of ten years the elective council of Canada functioned, on the whole, to the satisfaction of the people. It is said that the politicians, or some of them, did not favour the change, as it kept them too constantly on the *qui vive*, an election of some sort being bound to take place every two years.

There was no pronounced demand from Lower Canada for a return to the nominative principle, although Mr. H. Langevin (Sir Hector), who took an active part in the bringing about of Confederation, probably voiced his own views at the Quebec Conference. When Confederation did come about and it was found that the Senate was to be a nominated body, it was said, on the one hand that the Maritime Provinces insisted on that form of the constitution, and this in spite of the example to the contrary of Prince Edward Island, and on the other hand that Quebec was the province which demanded a return to the old system. It is likely that the Imperial Government urged the nominative principle for the new Confederation. It is also more than likely that the anti-American sentiment, which set in after the Civil War and the Fenian incursions, together with the abrogation of the reciprocity by the United States, had something to do with it. As a result Canada to-day, certainly has a second chamber, in its constitution, unique among countries with representative institutions, the most autocratic of any that we read or hear of, which can, if it choose, apparently without let or hindrance, effectively defeat the wishes of the branch of Parliament elected by the people. Fortunately the good sense of its members has hitherto, prevented the Senate from playing an altogether too pronounced party game. In Quebec, where the senators are assigned certain districts, the system works better and might well be followed in the other provinces.

The two chambers had their clashes, but when they did, the Council could not be reproached with the taunt

that it was unrepresentative. A notable instance of a difference was in connection with the selection of a permanent capital. The alternative system between Toronto and Quebec was most inconvenient and a clumsy arrangement, altogether, one which everyone could see was but a makeshift. A resolution passed by the Assembly constituting Quebec the permanent capital after 1859 was promptly made ineffective, by the action of the Council in withholding its assent to the necessary supply for money voted for the purpose of the erection of suitable parliament buildings.

It has been said that deadlock was the parent of Confederation. To a limited extent this may be true, but it is not altogether true. The idea of Confederation had been in the minds of the leading men of the colonies ever since the days of the American revolution. Howe and even McKenzie had spoken or written in support of the idea. That matters had arrived at a deadlock in the two provinces is a fact, but such difficulties arise in all countries at certain stages, and they don't by any means always lead to an alteration in the constitution. The deadlock in this case was loosened and open to some sort of solution when a coalition government was formed. George Brown, the leading reformer and a man of great ability and energy, whose speeches during the Confederation tours are masterly efforts, denied positively that the Canadians were advocating Confederation as the only means of a solution of their difficulties. His words in this regard are so positive that they are worth giving. Speaking at Halifax, Mr. Brown said he did not regard a Confederation of the whole provinces as "any remedy for our present wrongs," and continued by saying he had joined the government of Cartier and "we have agreed "on a principle of settlement agreeable to a large "majority of the representatives in Parliament and I am "persuaded of the great mass of our people in both sections of the province. We are pledged as a government "to place before Parliament at its next session a bill

“giving effect to the conditions of our pact, and should
 “the union of the whole provinces not be proceeded with,
 “our Canadian Reform Bill will go on and our
 “grievances be redressed. You will therefore perceive
 “that we have not come to seek relief from our troubles,
 “for a remedy of our grievances is already agreed upon,
 “and come what may, to the larger scheme now before
 “us, the smaller scheme will certainly be accomplished.”

There were many long and acrimonious debates over the question of the capital. It was agreed that the choice should be left to the Queen, who selected Ottawa, but in spite of Her Majesty's decision, an amendment passed the Assembly later that Ottawa was not a suitable place. Governments arose and fell on this issue, but Ottawa finally won out by a narrow majority.

Another source of dissension was the much vexed question of representation by population, upon which the members from Upper Canada now strenuously insisted, with their very much greater population, while opposition to the change was not unreasonably found in the Lower Canada members, who pointed out that when their province at the time of the union, was largely the most populous, it was agreed that the representation from each should be equal. Governments continued to rise and to fall with amazing rapidity. One, the Brown-Dorion government, only existed six days. Then, at last, it dawned on the minds of the leaders of the parties, French and English, Conservative and Reform, that something must be done to save the situation from chaos. There was a suggestion that certain measures, before they were crystallized into law, should pass with a majority from each section of the united province, but that was soon seen to be an unworkable idea. It was proposed that the present union should be dissolved, and a federal union substituted, with the object of finally incorporating all the provinces in its folds. And then the vision of Confederation shone forth. When it became known that the people down by the sea were on the verge

of adopting a system of Maritime Union, the idea at once seized the leaders of both parties, that the time was opportune to make advances with the view of the adoption of the larger scheme. Macdonald and Brown and Cartier and Dorion had with many other leaders met in conference, with a view to saving the situation, even at the expense of coalition, and a government embracing leaders from the opposing parties was formed.

CHAPTER X.

Confederation—Intercolonial Railway—New Brunswick Elections—Inclusion of Northwest and British Columbia.

PRINCE Edward Island, known for a long time after its discovery as the Island of St. John, is one of the most beautiful spots on the North American continent. Agriculturally it is a veritable garden. Its history, if not exciting, is at least interesting. French Acadians, Scotch, English and Irish were among its early settlers. The progress of this favoured isle was set back and protracted by a system of absentee landlordism, which placed its baneful foot on its shores and arrested development, as it always arrests development, where its blighting and deadly influence exists. "Services to the Crown" led to the granting of vast tracts of land to favoured, influential and, generally speaking, utterly selfish individuals, whose loyalty as loud mouthed as shallow, was measured by the standard of pounds, shillings and pence. Efforts made again and again to throw off this octopus failed, largely because the Imperial authorities seem to have been obsessed with the idea that of all things sacred in this world, nothing is quite so sacred as vested rights, particularly the vested rights of the wealthy and strong. Confederation at least conferred on the island one immeasurable benefit. It did away with this iniquitous land policy of landlordism. When the delegates from the upper provinces appeared at the conference where the Maritime parliamentarians were assembled, they were accorded a hearty welcome, and as if by general consent the smaller project dropped out of consideration and the larger and more attractive scheme came to the front.

The delegates met in Charlottetown in September, eighteen hundred and sixty-four. They continued on their tour taking in the cities of Halifax, Saint John and Fredericton in the lower provinces, Quebec and Montreal

in Lower Canada, and Toronto and other centres in Upper Canada. Of course the longest stay was in Quebec, where the now celebrated Confederation resolutions were promulgated and adopted. It was well on to the end of November when the delegates separated and returned to their several homes, with the difficult task ahead of persuading the people at large that the union of these seemingly incongruous colonies was in their interests.

In a way Confederation came with a rush. The people of the provinces were committed to it before they were quite aware of what it meant. The Charlottetown convention was in the autumn of 1864, and in the spring of 1867, the British North America Act received the assent of the Imperial legislature. There was no appeal to the people of the provinces interested except in the Province of New Brunswick and in the Colony of Newfoundland. New Brunswick went overwhelmingly against the scheme, but within less than two years made a complete turnabout and voted as strongly for as it previously voted against the union. Newfoundland expressed an opinion utterly opposed to the Confederation, and has never since changed its mind.

The Canadian delegates to the Charlottetown convention seem to have carried all before them. Not that the Maritime delegates were indifferent, but they had come together with the view of Maritime union. The larger scheme, however, appealed to their imagination, as it must have appealed to the imagination of any one with anything of the vision of a statesman. The difficulties of carrying it to fruition were many, and it is quite apparent that each province represented that, in entering into the union, it was sacrificing material advantage for the good of the whole country and in the interests of a closer bond of Imperial union. The tour which the delegates, after the meeting in Charlottetown, made was such as to lead them to believe that the people at large, the more they realized the importance of the proposed scheme, the more they were imbued with the spirit that in

British North America there was the possibility of a great country, which under a united rule and direction, would become one of the leading nations of the continent, and indeed of the world. The speeches made were of a high order, and as to afford inspiration to the audiences which listened to them. To be sure the burning eloquence of Howe was missing, but the forceful, if somewhat exaggerated language of Dr. Tupper was a mighty contribution in carrying out the scheme.

As before pointed out, George Brown was one of the most convincing speakers, and he appears to have not been at all averse to speaking on any and every occasion, and at length. John A. Macdonald, the real father of Confederation, made few speeches, but there was solid meat in everything that fell from his lips. All throughout his long and honourable career, this foremost Canadian statesman let others do most of the talking while he did the thinking, the planning, and the executing. He did not even seem to mind when others forgot the credit which was his own due. He led many men by leading them to believe that they were much greater than he. His insight into human nature was marvellous. D'Arcy McGee, the early-time Irish rebel, was one of the delegates, and his eloquence and wit carried all before it. In Charlottetown, one of the Island politicians, with true insular pride, was talking about the greatness of his own province, when McGee burst out: "Don't you be too boastful of your little island. Don't let us hear so much about it, or, we will send down a little tug-boat and draw you up into one of our lakes, where we will leave you to take care of yourselves." And the Islander was shrewd enough to remark that perhaps that would not be too bad a fate.

The period was a perilous one in the history of the continent. The American republic was involved in a civil war, which, no matter who won out, promised disturbance for some time to come and uneasiness in all parts of North America. True, Gettysburg had been

fought, Grant was displaying the great qualities of a military leader, but the South was fighting a stubborn battle. The need of a common united action amongst the British colonies was felt, if British power and prestige was to still find place in America. Thus in reading an account of the proceedings on this federation tour, one is struck by the note of military necessity, which sounded in the arguments for the Confederation. It was not known what spirit of conquest might arise in the country to the south, and there was a strong feeling that the British provinces should come together and put themselves in a position, where, if need arose, a successful defence might be made.

A party in England, which if not numerous was at least quite influential, propounded the doctrine that colonies having attained to the importance of the American provinces, should assume independence. Later on this group came to be known as little Englanders. Time alone will show whether they were wise prophets. That the views of these doctrinaires, as they were somewhat contemptuously termed by those who did not agree with them, were well known in Canada, is plain, for more than once more than one of the delegates dealt with the arguments adduced by them. To the contention that they were a source of danger to the motherland, John A. Macdonald spoke of the many times in which the colonists found themselves at war or in danger of war, when their immediate interests were in no way affected, such as the Trent affair, the Oregon boundary matter and other occasions. Yet the men of the colonies were ready and willing with their offers of the utmost assistance in men and money. George Brown, in Toronto, reminded his listeners of the well accepted doctrine that a parent country, which induced its subjects to go to far away colonies was bound to afford them all reasonable protection, until such times they were able to look after themselves. That, he said, was in the nature of a contract. It might be said in reply to that that when the colony

became practically independent, made its own customs tariff, and collected and spent its own revenue, had in fact as well as in name, responsible government, there might be a plea advanced that the contract was rescinded. English statesmen, then as since, were always on pins and needles, lest the hot-heads, in the colonies, should lead them into a position that meant hostilities with the United States, and perhaps did not sufficiently bear in mind that, as far as blame was to be borne for the War of 1812, Canada and the other American provinces were blameless.

However, during the tour of the Confederation forming statesmen, there was ample evidence that not only was Britain interested in and favourable to a union of the provinces, but that, if the provinces formed a sound, practical and effective union, in case of hostilities from outside causes, the whole power and force of the motherland would be found at its back. In fact there was a good deal of talk of armies and navies and war, and elderly gentlemen spoke of how ready and willing they were that younger gentlemen should shed their blood and the blood of the elderly gentlemen's enemies, if any daring enemy ventured to tread on their toes. Still this was not unreasonable talk, for south of the boundary line was a kindred nation involved in one of the most bloody and terrible wars of history, and the atmosphere was thick with the smoke of battle. The glorious victory of this or that general was featured rather than the unspeakable sorrow and anguish of a strife in which, literally speaking, fathers, sons and brothers fought in opposite camps, while mothers and wives and sisters passed daily through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

The military situation was one of the paramount reasons, but by no means the only one for the proposed Confederation. There was the commercial aspect to be considered. At the time when the delegates were deliberating, as has been said, a treaty of reciprocity in natural products was in force between the States and the

provinces. There can be no manner of doubt that under this treaty, the inhabitants of the British provinces flourished, and this was particularly the case in the colonies on the seaboard. Nor did the Civil War lessen the prosperity. On the contrary, the necessities of the southern neighbour, the demand for all sorts of commodities, and the transference of such a host of able-bodied men from the pursuit of agricultural and manufacturing labour, to the purpose of waging war, all made for increased prosperity for the provinces. Everything that could be raised on the land and in the factory was in demand at good prices. Whether the fathers of Confederation thought that the reciprocity treaty was likely to be abrogated, or whether they thought it would be in the interests of the provinces that it should be, is not easy to say. The fact is that the treaty was abrogated and that, by the United States, shortly before the accomplishment of Confederation. Any change of that kind causes industrial disturbance, and the disturbance is generally, in the nature of things, more deeply felt by the smaller than by the larger country. When the reciprocity pact ended, it was undoubtedly the hope of the promoters of Confederation that a free intercourse of commodities between the provinces would in some measure, at all events, take the place of the open United States market.

Then there was another motive, which may be termed the national reason. There was not much scope for political ambition of the worthy kind, in the old provincial life. To be premier of Upper Canada, or Lower Canada, or of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, was an honourable position, but not a very high pinnacle of the political temple, or, if a high pinnacle, of a very small political temple.

If, as has been said, the leading Upper Canadians made an impression on the Maritime delegates, the converse was also true, for Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley especially, were at once recognized as statesmen of the

first order. These two leaders, the one from Nova Scotia and the other from New Brunswick, were utterly unlike yet each in his way impressive. Tupper was bold and assertive, a sort of Boanerges or son of thunder, apt to carry an audience by the force of his personality. Tilley was mild, persuasive, logical, convincing and yet firm, with good reasoning powers. In time to come Macdonald, Tupper and Tilley became closely associated in an important stage in the history of Canada and took the lead in the councils of the country. An instance of Tupper's forcefulness was given at a banquet given to the delegates in Quebec. When the chairman was somewhat cautious and expressed the view that whatever came about, there would at least be free trade between the provinces, the energetic Nova Scotian rebuked him for his undue caution, and would hear of nothing but a political and federal union. Tilley pointed out the great inconvenience of a lot of differing tariffs between the provinces. He had been one of the leading spirits in the promotion of Maritime Union, and one can see that he would have been pleased had this smaller scheme been carried out before the larger. But a prediction made by Mr. Tilley to the effect that the people in the Maritime Provinces, being a "manufacturing people" to a large extent, would to the whole of British America occupy a similar place that Massachusetts does to the United States, has most assuredly not been verified. Instead of the Maritime Provinces capturing the Upper Provinces as a market for their manufactures, the Upper Provinces have captured the Maritime Provinces.

The Intercolonial Railway was a most important link in the scheme, a condition precedent on the part of the lower provinces for acceptance of the union. And the Upper Canadian delegates while in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, endorsed this proposition and prophesied wonderful advances in commercial prosperity on account of its construction. Halifax would become one of the great emporiums of the world, when all the great

resources of the West come over the great railways of Canada to the bosom of "this harbour." "I do not hesitate to say," said Mr. Macdonald, "with respect to the Intercolonial Railway that it is understood by the people of Canada that it can only be built as a means of political union of the colonies. It cannot be denied that the railway as a commercial enterprise would be of comparatively little commercial advantage to the people of Canada. While we have the St. Lawrence in summer and the American ports in time of peace, we have all that is requisite for our purposes. In the case of union this railway must be built as a national work and Canada will cheerfully contribute to the expense of making that important link, without which no political connection can be complete." George Brown had for some time opposed the construction of this line, as a national work, but at a large meeting in Toronto he boldly announced that he was willing to accept it as a condition demanded by the lower provinces, and that he was now heartily in favour of its construction.

With Confederation accomplished the location of the Intercolonial Railway was a matter of bitter controversy in the Province of New Brunswick. Everything pointed to what is known as the Saint John Valley route, as the shortest, the most practicable from an engineering standpoint and the most economically to be built. Besides all this it would pass through the oldest settled and the most fertile section of country in the whole province—a section largely peopled by the Loyalists, who naturally selected the pick of the lands when they came. One of the first projected railways in British America from St. Andrews on the Passamaquoddy Bay to the City of Quebec, had been under consideration thirty years before Confederation. The controversy over the Aroostook Valley country and the consequent award of a large part of it to the United States, had a good deal, no doubt, to do with the inability of the promoters of the road to finance it. Had that been possible of accomplishment, there would have

been short connection with the New Brunswick ports, and much of the trade now passing through Portland and Boston would have gone through St. Andrews and Saint John. It was hoped by the people of the central counties that the new I. C. R. would make up for the failure of the earlier scheme. But the present route—the North Shore, was adopted. Peter Mitchell was the premier of the last before Confederation government in Fredericton. A man of strong and persistent personality, he made his opinions felt in support of the North Shore. He was backed up by Major Robinson, an engineer of some note, and there was also brought to bear on the question the proximity of the Saint John Valley route to the United States border, which would make a railway constructed there easier of seizure in the case of war—which, was not, as now, regarded as an absurd impossibility.

To return to the travelling Confederation delegates, perhaps Mr. A. T. Galt was drawing rather heavily on the credulity of his audience, when in support of George Brown's contention that Confederation or not, the differences of the Canadas would be settled, Mr. Galt said, not only that the Canadas had grown to a position of importance "such as never could have been hoped for in a disunited state," but also, "that since union we have been in harmony one with another." One would not be surprised to hear that some of the Maritime delegates raised their eyebrows, and that some of them indulged in a quiet smile over this naive utterance.

Among those who took part in at least one of the meetings was Mr. James Ross, who hailed and registered from Red River. Red River did not mean much to the ordinary British American at the time. It was supposed to be a desolate land even more Arctic than the northernmost portions of New Brunswick or Quebec. Few people had any idea of the vast possibilities of the great West. Where the populous City of Winnipeg now stands there was a little settlement called Fort Garry. Some people in

the East had heard of Lord Selkirk's settlers, and of the terrible experiences they had undergone. The Hudson's Bay Company was in control of the whole country, and the Hudson's Bay Company, loyal to its own, was not in business for the sake of the health only of the successors and assigns of the original noble band, who induced the gallant monarch, Charles the Second, to hand over to them in perpetuity, all the land in British North America from the Great Lakes, practically to the Rocky Mountains. There were the faithful few who had the great vision of a Dominion extending from sea to sea and who foresaw new and rich provinces carved out of this vast prairie land, where thousands of farmers would have homes and millions of bushels of grain would be produced. But the sceptics were largely in the majority. Mr. Ross was one of the enthusiasts, an absurd optimist—he would probably have been called at that time.

His words are well worth preservation:—"There is a country," he said, "where the persecuted population of European countries may resort and find comfortable homes. There are one hundred millions of square miles fit for settlement, and I wish this fact to go far and wide as authentic and reliable."

Reference has been made to the elections on the Confederation issue in the Province of New Brunswick, and so unique was the situation and so quick the change in public sentiment, and so fateful the issue to the future of the Dominion that a more extended review of the case is justified. The first election in March, 1865, was most disastrous and disheartening to the Confederates, led by Mr. Tilley, and most satisfying to those who for one reason or another opposed the proposed union. Mr. Tilley and all his cabinet, but one, suffered defeat. Only three counties, Carleton, Restigouche and Albert, returned candidates pledged to Confederation. It appeared as far as New Brunswick would indicate that the whole project was condemned. But the new government, led by Mr. Albert J. Smith, soon found itself in difficulties.



OLD PROVINCE BUILDING, FREDERICTON.

Mr. Smith, himself, was a strong and unquestioned opponent of the whole scheme of Confederation, as was one at least of his colleagues in the government, Mr. T. W. Anglin. But other members of the cabinet and supporters in the House were only opposed to some of the terms in the Quebec outline and not to the general idea of union. Furthermore, in the September, after the March election, a by-election to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. John C. Allen, the attorney-general, to the bench, resulted in the triumphant return of the Confederation candidate, Mr. Charles Fisher, who was not only a pronounced Confederate, but one of the originators of the Quebec scheme. He was attorney-general in Mr. Tilley's government and had been badly beaten in the March elections. This by-election was most significant, and the government began to see that public opinion, becoming more educated to the meaning of union, was changing. Perhaps this York County by-election was the most important by-election ever held in Canada.

The Legislature did not meet in Session until the following March. They found the situation then changed, and, to the amazement of many, the Speech from the Throne contained a favourable reference to a union of the provinces. The governor had been active, particularly so after a visit to England, and he brought word that the Imperial Government and the Queen herself, favoured Confederation. Presently the Legislative Council, while the Assembly was debating the address, passed a resolution in favour of union, and the governor in his reply expressed similar sentiments. Moreover, it was found that certain members of the government and supporters of it were now favourable to the scheme. The result was that Mr. Smith handed in his resignation to the governor, who dissolved the House and called on Peter Mitchell to form a government, in which Mr. Tilley was provincial secretary. Mr. Wilmot, who had been in the anti-confederate cabinet, accepted a place in the new government pledged to Confederation.

The elections were held in May and June and the result was the triumphant return of the Mitchell Confederate government, by as large a majority as that by which the previous one had been defeated. The popular majority was shown to be very large. Thus, New Brunswick set its seal to Confederation. Before passing from this phase of the question, reference must be made to a few stirring incidents in the debates before the second election. It was evident that there had been some unfavourable comment by Upper Canadian speakers and writers on the result of the first election, for Mr. Hatheway, a member of the government, made the rather biting retort, that "we have never burned our province building or professed anything but respect for the Queen's representative." Some Upper Canadian statesmen, in considerable prominence might be led by this retort to call to mind not too pleasantly, Lord Elgin, a former governor general, and the blazing Parliament buildings in Montreal.

Among the few favouring Confederation who found a seat was Charles Connell, of Carleton. He had been Postmaster General in an earlier government and when the decimal system was introduced he was entrusted with the securing of the dies for the new stamps. When the stamps were issued, what was the surprise of everybody and the indignation of a great many to find that instead of the Queen's head, the head of the Postmaster General appeared on the five cent issue. There was a great hullabaloo. Mr. Connell resigned his position in the government. He did not remain out of public life, but on the contrary was endorsed by the electors on the occasion of both Confederation elections, became a member of the Peter Mitchell government and was the first member for Carleton in the first Dominion Parliament. He died during the first Session. Mr. Connell was making a strong speech in favour of Confederation and incidentally referred to the opinion of Benjamin Franklin on the question of federation of the American colonies.

"Mr. Franklin," he continued, "stood by his post."

Mr. Anglin—"He was Postmaster General."

Mr. Connell—"Yes, and lost his office, too."

Mr. Anglin—"Yes, but his head is on the stamps, now."

The official reporter of the debate thought this worthy of preservation and so it finds a place in this narration.

But if Mr. Connell made a mistake when he put his own head instead of the Queen's on the postage stamp, he made no mistake, when in his able speech in support of Confederation he called attention to the fertility of the valley of the Saskatchewan and predicted the importance of its acquisition by the Dominion of Canada.

New Brunswick has been represented as being fickle on the question of Confederation. As a matter of fact the electors were perplexed and uncertain how to vote. But a year's deliberation, and representation to this loyal people that the Queen herself favoured union, furthered by the threatened Fenian invasion, the generally disordered state of affairs on the boundary, the repeal of the reciprocity treaty, all made for a change in sentiment. The last expression of opinion was the sober after thought of the electors.

The result of the second New Brunswick election was the speedy accomplishment of Confederation. The Canadian and Nova Scotia legislatures had passed the Quebec resolutions. There now only remained to be done, the meeting in London, and the approval by concurrent legislation of the Imperial Parliament. That being achieved, the New Dominion started on its career, with the hearty blessing of the mother country, on the first day of July, 1867.

It is true that the resolutions were passed in the Nova Scotia Legislature against the strong protest of Joseph Howe and his influential supporters, who asked that the people be first consulted. It is true that the Legislature that passed the resolutions was hopelessly defeated on the first occasion of going to the polls. It is true that

on the occasion of the first election to the New Dominion Parliament, only one Confederate was elected in the person of the dauntless and doughty Dr. Tupper, whose courage does not appear to have been one whit dampened by this disheartening attitude of his native province. It is true that Howe, at first, went to England and used his powers to enable the withdrawal of Nova Scotia from the union; but it is also true that upon an appeal having been made to his loyalty and patriotism, together with the offer of "better terms" for his province, the old veteran laid aside his political weapons of war and joined in with the government, just trying to get on its feet at the new capital of Ottawa. The opposition of Howe withdrawn, antagonism to Confederation in Nova Scotia somewhat lessened, but it was many years before a large portion of the people in that old province became reconciled to the new condition of affairs, and there continued for some time to be talk of "secession."

Newfoundland remained out, so far, permanently. Prince Edward Island, where the first step was taken to formulate the scheme, dissatisfied with the conditions offered to her, refused to become one of the original partners, and it was not until five years later, that the Island was glad enough to accept terms which brought her within the fold.

A thousand miles or more from the western boundary of the Province of Ontario as it then was, lay what was known as Rupert's Land, or in more popular designation, the Red River country. The Red River country was not without its incidents of stirring history, perhaps more in the way of adventure than romance. The Hudson's Bay Company held this vast territory in its firm grasp, as it had held it since the days when the gay monarch so lightly endowed it with powers full and plenipotentary. At this period of time, it is difficult to say whether the Hudson's Bay Company was more of a curse or a blessing to the land. Monopolies of the kind are not generally counted as national blessings. The power of

the company was tremendous and extended to the fullest extent over life and property. It dealt justly, where it could, without interfering with its own interest, but its eye was on the main chance, not for the country but for the company. The few settlers—the Selkirk colony—and others, who had been induced to travel over the ocean and across the vast desolate country between civilization and their destination, used and inured as they were to hardship and trials, experienced hardships and trials beyond the worst of their bad dreams. The bitter winter weather, and the lack of suitable accommodation, the remoteness from any large or even small centre of population, the intense isolation and loneliness, all made their lot the very heaviest of all the pioneers in British America.

When the Northwest Company was formed and entered into competition with its ancient rival, the old Hudson's Bay Company, there was war to the knife between the two corporations, and the unhappy settlers found themselves in the unenviable position of being between the upper and nether millstone. Slowly a settlement gathered about Fort Garry, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Across the Red arose the Christian temple of St. Boniface, "with its turrets twain" immortalized by the Quaker poet, Whittier, who pictured the weary boatman journeying down the river at the close of day—

"The voyager smiles as he listens to the sound that
grows apace,
Well he knows the vesper ringing of the bells of St.
Boniface,
The bells of the Roman mission that call from their
turrets twain,
To the boatman on the river and the hunter on the
plain."

The Dominion of Canada having started duly on its career, was not satisfied to mark time. Its inaugurators

proceeded at once to take steps to enlarge its boundaries, with the object of securing control of all the territory westward to the Pacific Ocean. The first step was the acquisition of the Red River country, after much negotiation effected through the offices of the two governments, Imperial and Dominion, and the company's officials in London. The terms were liberal enough to the company, in a money grant of a million and half dollars, and about one-tenth of the land concerned. Even then the local representatives of the company do not appear to have been satisfied.

However, a new province, Manitoba, was formed. There was nothing to indicate a wonderful future for this acquisition. At the time the population was only some ten thousand. Much trouble ensued before the first western province was enabled to function in such a way as to lead to the immense development that has taken place in something over half a century of time.

The trouble, and serious enough, it became, was caused by Louis Riel, an intelligent and shrewd Metis or half-breed, partly Scandinavian, partly French, partly Indian, whose ultimate fate might have been quite different had he possessed anything of a balanced mind. He exercised much influence over his fellow half-breeds and the Indians, and had the sympathy of a good many of the French settlers. Persuading them, that under the new order their rights were being invaded, and that their lands would be taken from them, he was able to organize a formidable armed party, with which the small loyal police force and other inhabitants were quite unable to cope. He took possession of the strategic points about Fort Garry and St. Boniface, and ended by forming, what he called a provisional government, which was to control the situation, until such time as the United States would take over the territory, or failing that, independence. He imprisoned several of the loyal people, in some cases, under conditions of extreme cruelty, and placed the capsheaf on the crop of his insolence by the

cold-blooded execution of one, Thomas Scott, a young man from Ontario who refused to join in with him and against whom, it was said, he bore a personal grudge. Whatever of sympathy the provisional government may have elicited in Canada, was speedily dissipated by the severe treatment he meted out to his prisoners, and above all by the atrocious murder—for it appears to have been nothing less than murder—of Scott. It became necessary to dispatch a strong military expedition, at a considerable expense, to the seat of trouble before order was restored. Riel fled at the approach of the forces, and found a refuge in the United States. In time he found his way back to the West and might have lived down, in part at all events, his unsavoury past, but the seeds of rebellion appear to have been too deeply imbedded in his peculiar nature. Less than twenty years later, this ill-starred character was the prime factor in a much more formidable insurrection, which originated away up in the Duck Lake country and finally spread over a large portion of the territories, and is known in the pages of Canadian history as the North West Rebellion of 1885. Many civilian lives were lost and many young Canadian military volunteers made the supreme sacrifice on behalf of the honour and the preservation of the new Dominion. It was found necessary to call on the militia of all the provinces for assistance in quelling this formidable rebellion, and very gallantly did the youth of the country respond to the call. In time the loyal forces prevailed. Riel was captured. He was placed on trial and after a hearing in which he was ably defended, was found guilty of treason and rebellion, and in time, in spite of all efforts made on his behalf, was executed.

Manitoba became a duly organized province within the Dominion, and the whole of the territory between the United States boundary and the Arctic region was added.

On the west of the Rocky Mountains was a large and rich country, a goodly part of it with enviable climatic

conditions. For some time after it became the undisputed possession of Britain its control was placed in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, but their management of affairs not proving satisfactory, the government withdrew the mandate. As settlers arrived and located there came demands for some sort of representative government, which was granted. At first there were two colonies. At a later period they united under the name of British Columbia. Soon after the accomplishment of Confederation British Columbia made overtures for reception into the union, which were favourably received, and the result was the admission of the Pacific province, on the condition that within two years afterwards a railroad to connect it with the other portions of Canada, should be commenced and within ten years thereafter completed.

The construction of the Intercolonial, at the time loomed up as a formidable undertaking, and so, indeed it was. But as a public national work, it was almost trifling beside the gigantic task of building a railroad from Western Ontario, through the bleak, inhospitable, uninhabited, barren waste, around the shore of the great Lake Superior, across the then desolate and wide prairie—with its problematical future,—and then over the almost inaccessible mountain chain separating the interior from the coast. A young country as the Dominion then was, to think of, let alone actually undertake, and within a dozen years to accomplish such an undertaking, was not the kind which having once tasted the sweets of nationhood, would be likely to throw it lightly aside. People and communities who talk glibly of separation may take this lesson to heart.

Confederation came about on the first day of July A. D. 1867. Four years later, to be precise, on the 20th day of July, 1871, British Columbia entered as a full fledged province, into the union, so at that early period, this infant amongst the nations of the world which had started out with the four old provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, had included a

vast territory to the west in which the original provinces could have been easily buried, and had at that early day justified its claim to the motto which now underlies so seemingly and fittingly, the new Canadian Coat of Arms, "A mari usque ad mare." In the great lone land, which Canada took over in faith, nothing doubting, there was raised in the year of this writing, 1925, over 400,000,000 bushels of wheat to say nothing of other valuable crops. In 1905 the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created, and the Dominion of Canada became, as far as provincial organization is concerned, as it is today.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier—Sir John in Power—A Stormy Debate—Building of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

SIR John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier will remain, for a long time to come, the outstanding figures in recent Canadian history. They were alike and unlike, physically, temperamentally and politically. Each was a statesman, a true Canadian and devoted to the interests of his country as he saw it, and each was a politician, not altogether averse to the trick of the politician—according to his opponents, each was a crafty politician. Each was a strong party man and really believed that his party should govern the country, because, practically, all of political virtue was in his party. But, on the contra account, Sir John was a Conservative and Imperialist, though by no means an Imperialist of the extreme variety. Sir Wilfrid was, as he loved to say, a Liberal of the Liberals, a Liberal of the old English school, but, he was not a radical. The childhood and youth of the two was as different as could be imagined. Born in Scotland, Sir John's youth was spent about Kingston, where he imbued the views of the Loyalists and the Family Compact party. Sir Wilfrid was born in a remote hamlet in a remote county of Quebec, where old-fashioned French Canadian atmosphere prevailed. But he knew all about the history of the rebels,—as Sir John would have called them,—the patriots as he called them, and he admired them. Sir John bore quite a physical resemblance to Disraeli, whom he knew well, and with whom to some extent he was thrown in contact in his public capacity. Sir Wilfrid bore about as much resemblance to Sir John. While Sir John and Disraeli were something of personal and political friends, Sir Wilfrid bestowed his political affection on Mr. Gladstone, whom he met several times before he became premier and with whom he had his photograph

taken—the two side by side. Several years ago a newspaper gave copies of this picture to its subscribers, and it is to be seen in many homes to this day.

It is hard for politicians to avoid the telling of a certain number of white lies, and one looks for them to indulge in some sort of equivocation at times, even if they do not go the whole way recommended by Machiavelli in his Prince. When in the heat of the national policy election in 1878, Sir John telegraphed to a friend in Saint John, “no increase (in the tariff) only a readjustment,” he was thinking of the effect of his message on the election of his friend, Mr. Tilley, rather than on the exact truth of it. When Sir Wilfrid proclaimed from the housetops, as he liked to do, that he had but one political war cry, “I am a Canadian, my platform is Canada,” and that he made use of it wherever he went, he knew very well that these words in Toronto, or any other English-speaking centre, meant a very different thing to an audience, than the same words, “Je suis Canadien, mon plateforme c’est Canada,” meant to the habitant in rural Quebec, where the only Canadian is the French Canadien. Sir John had the heavier of the tasks to carry out, for he was, as his generous opponent put it after his death, pre-eminently the Father of Confederation. Sir Wilfrid did not have very many difficult questions to solve, although the Manitoba school question with its race and religion setting, caused him some anxiety if he did ride into power on its back, and he had a bad quarter of an hour several years later, over the question of sending troops to the seat of war in South Africa.

Sir John A. Macdonald or “John A.”—he was scarcely ever referred to as Macdonald—was certainly a remarkable character. He possessed wisdom, sagacity, firmness, moderation, courage, caution, humour and good humour to such a degree as is seldom found in one individual. He could put off any importunate suitor for office with a story and a promise. An Indian chief, some-

what irritated by his procrastination, from day to day, nicknamed him, "Old Tomorrow." On the occasion of his death, *London Punch* took up this cue and drew an affectionate cartoon of "Old Tomorrow" with an accompanying suitable bit of verse.

His kindness to young men starting in life has often been mentioned. The writer had an instance of it in his own case. Detailed to interview the old chieftain for a Boston paper, when he was a very raw cub of a reporter, he was shown into the room, where sat Sir John and his secretary. The reporter was tongue-tied—had stage fright. But with an easy turned phrase about Boston, Sir John put him at his ease and then gave him an interview on the fisheries question, which won the offer of a position on one of the Boston dailies. The writer remembers Sir John in the House of Commons in the late eighties. He was surrounded by his trusty lieutenants, Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Chapleau, Sir George Foster, Sir Adolphe Caron, Sir C. H. Tupper, Sir John Carling and others. There seemed to be nothing but knights about in those days when Sirs were created with almost as much ease as Justices of the Peace. At that time he was without the active support in the House of his two old time supporters, Tilley and Tupper. Mr. Tilley, who had become Sir Leonard Tilley, in far from robust health, had retired from active political life to the dignified position of lieutenant governor of his native province, where he had rendered such valuable public service, and to which he was such a credit. He has long since joined the great majority and is remembered with affection and esteem in New Brunswick today. An excellent likeness, the statue in King Square, Saint John, perpetuates his memory. Dr. Tupper, then created a baronet, had accepted the position of High Commissioner for Canada in England, a position his unique personality was well calculated to inaugurate. He was as forceful in England as in Canada and certainly kept Canada "on the map." A very old man he died full

of years and honours. His attempt to carry the Conservative party to victory in 1896 was unsuccessful, as probably any leader whom the party had chosen at that particular time would have found to be the case.

Opposite sat Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, then an invalid, who was not able to make a speech, but when he did interject, received the applause of both sides of the House; Mr. Edward Blake, the sarcastic and almost bitter Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. Mills, Mr. Laurier, Mr. Davies and others. It was a fine ensemble of clever men of whom Canada has reason to be proud. Sir John did not speak very often, but when he did, he was, of course, listened to with the utmost attention. He was fond of an apt story and frequently introduced one into the course of his speech. A case in point was on the occasion of the celebrated Jesuits Estates Bill. This question had caused a terrible hubbub in Ontario and racial and religious feeling ran high. There was much talk of equal rights. Everyone who is at all familiar with the event remembers the stand taken by the late Dalton McCarthy and all about the attitude of the "noble thirteen," and the medals a proud city awarded them. But Sir John was not to be perturbed. In spite of the excitement in the Chamber just before the division, his speech was calm and placid. He was, he said, now getting to be an old man and he remembered many occasions when for a time there was great excitement and upon sober reflection things would adjust themselves. So, he thought it would be on this occasion and then he told the Jew story. A Jew being very hungry, was tempted to take a piece of ham at a friend's house, in the country. He was very hungry and the ham tempted him. Nevertheless, afterwards, his conscience troubled him not a little. As he said good-bye to his host, and passed out of the door, there was a tremendous clap of thunder. "Mein gracious," said the Jew, "what a row over a little piece of pork." Sir John was roundly reprov'd for his levity on such a serious and solemn occasion. The occasion, it

was said, was not one for trifling, and making jokes. It was too momentous. Yet, in the light of the years that have passed, Sir John was not far wrong. Perhaps it was a row over a little piece of pork. Anyway, it was over a bill passed by the Mercier (Quebec) Legislature to indemnify the Jesuit Order for certain lands originally belonging to them and which had been appropriated by the government, many years ago, which bill the Dominion Government was asked, by a resolution moved by Col. O'Brien, to disallow. The debate was of a high order, the speeches of Dalton McCarthy, on the one hand, and of Sir John Thompson, the Minister of Justice, on the other, being particularly able. Sir John Macdonald could in his speeches, if he was particularly moved, arise to a height of eloquence, of which he, himself, had no conception—somewhat after the manner of Lincoln in his remarkable Gettysburg address. The election of 1891 was very bitter and hotly contested. The old chieftain found himself confronted with a united and strong opposition, supporting a policy which appealed to the commercial instincts of a commercially inclined people. It was the well remembered unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union election. Goldwin Smith, with his facile, able, and at times penetrating pen, was in outspoken support of the opposition and lent all his talents to the cause. Erastus Wiman, a Canadian, who had become prominent in the States, was on this side making speeches all over Ontario. And the main body of the Liberal party was hand in glove with the new policy which was to lead the people of Canada into hitherto unknown prosperity, and the Liberal party, incidentally, into a long time hitherto unknown power. Only one of the leaders held aloof, but he was an important leader—Edward Blake. He kept silent, and out of the election contest. After it was over, he published a letter expressing his dissent altogether from the policy of the party of which he had been such a brilliant, if a coldly brilliant, light. But Sir John arose at least to the height

of the politician, even if not to that of the statesman. It was the occasion when in his manifesto to the people he enunciated the famous passage, "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." He had a good opportunity to work this in—not that he was insincere, because he was sincere in his attachment to British connection—but because Wiman and some of the others were using language implying that a union of the two countries, politically, or at least commercially, would be the proper and most logical policy for both. Indeed, the New York Sun, which was taking an unusual interest in the election, was openly advocating the political union of the two countries, in a series of clever editorials. Sincere, no doubt, the advocates of unrestricted reciprocity were, believing that it would be of vast advantage to Canada, and would strengthen rather than weaken the tie of British connection, as a prosperous people would not be a dissatisfied people, and equally sincere was Sir John in his opposition to the policy, and in his belief that in the end, it would be to the disadvantage of, and would lead to the obliteration of Canada from the face of the continent. At a great meeting in Toronto, when the old Academy of Music on King street was crowded to overflowing, Sir John made a strong speech, closing with a peroration, which in its very simplicity arose to the real height of eloquence. Pointing out that the policy propounded by the Opposition, of unrestricted reciprocity or commercial union would eventually lead to a political union, whereby the "glorious name of Canada would be wiped out," he added, in a low pitched emphatic and yet penetrating voice, which he could use with such dramatic effect, "I had rather the grass were growing green over my head than that I should live to see the degradation of the country that I have loved so faithfully and have served so long." There was an instant of tense silence and then a tremendous ovation of applause from the vast audience. A Boston reporter, who had come to Toronto to report on the election, remarked "The crowd is with Macdonald."

Sir John was not only the foremost statesman Canada produced, without question, but he was the longest in power, and upon him were thrown the heaviest burdens of government. From Confederation until 1873, when he was defeated on the Pacific "scandal," the charge that Sir Hugh Allan had contributed large campaign funds to the Conservative party in consideration of securing the contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, he guided the ship of state. Many, not far-seeing, thought that his fall in 1873 was the last of him—that he had done his work, but, as all know, he came smiling to the front of the ring at the battle of 1878, and with the cry of the National policy—protection and "Canada for the Canadians," won a sweeping victory. From that time till his death in 1891, he was Prime Minister. He had many very difficult problems to solve, during his long tenure of office. He had the two Riel rebellions to deal with. It was while he was premier that the great West was added to the Dominion, and there were many difficulties in this situation. Perhaps he was not the actual originator of the National policy, but at all events he was its chief endorser and he advocated it before the people and put it into practice in Parliament. When he talked of the big factories to go up in Ontario, and the prices the farmers would get for their produce, the old Tory yeomen recalled the adage, "weavil came in with the Grits and prosperity with John A." It was he who had most to do with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, not the actual construction, but the making of the construction possible. He was ably assisted in this by Sir Charles Tupper, whose efforts in this connection can hardly be overrated, but when all is said and done, Sir John was at the helm, and the ship must go in the direction he steered it.

So closely is the Canadian Pacific Railway connected with the history and the making of Canada, such a marvellous illustration of pluck and faith and endurance was its construction, so amazing has been its growth and

development, so extensive have become its ramifications, that something more than a mere note of its building is due in any history of the Dominion. This great work was not easily done. There were opponents to it, in the House and out of it. As in all such cases, the estimated cost was found to be inadequate, and the problem of financing such a vast undertaking became most perplexing. Smith and Stephen, afterwards Lord Strathcona and Lord Mountstephen, were again and again almost in despair. Their own and any other credit they could arrange was pledged to the hilt. At one time, at all events, it seemed that the great undertaking must cease, but courage carried them through—and they were supported by the Prime Minister to the fullest extent, he could, with any hope of popular approval, go. This book purports to be a history, not an arithmetic or statistical record, and hence dates and figures, except when very material, are not featured. A chronology of dates is easily procurable. But in dealing with the Canadian Pacific Railway it is necessary to go into figures, and figures counting into the millions. It has been shown that a condition of British Columbia coming into the union was the completion of a transcontinental road within twelve years. After the defeat of the Macdonald government in 1873, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the opposition leader, went to the people and was returned with a large following. One of the first tasks of the new government was to deal with the construction of the Pacific railway. Mr. Mackenzie was an extremely honest and conscientious man. He recognized that he was the guardian and trustee of the national funds. Naturally economical and prudent in his own private affairs, he adopted a policy of economy and prudence in the government of the Dominion. A Liberal, he was conservative. He believed in learning to crawl before attempting to walk, and the attempt to walk was not to be made too soon in fear of the danger of a fall. So, the railway policy under his regime was

conservative and gradual. He was for using the great water stretches on the lakes, rather than building a line along their inhospitable shores. He was for securing settlers for the great West and for the construction of the line of the railway gradually, as the settlers located and as their needs required. It was a safe policy, but not a courageous one, nor one which proclaimed much faith in the future of the country. When Sir John and his friends came galloping back into power, "much to the surprise of himself and everybody else," as Mr. Cartwright more bitterly than truthfully put it, the policy was changed. Sir John was a Conservative, and he was both liberal and progressive, and full of faith, as the leading promoter of Confederation should be. Barely was the new government seated in the saddle before the railway policy was taken up, and a company having been duly organized, of whom three of the principals were Mr. R. B. Angus, Mr. Donald Smith, (Lord Strathcona), and Mr. George Stephen, (Lord Mountstephen), a contract was awarded.

The company was given control of the railway already constructed, some eight hundred miles, \$25,000,000 in cash, and 25,000,000 acres of land, and they were to have the road completed by 1891. The company set upon this prodigious work with a will. Early in its operation two men, both citizens of the United States, came to take a hand in the task. Their names were William Van Horne and Thomas Shaughnessy. Each became president of the company, and each received recognition in the way of titles from the Queen, and each became a most pronounced Canadian and a believer in the greatness of the British Empire. Quite soon after the road was well under way, finances became low.

The expense was something almost inconceivable. Every difficulty in railway engineering and railway construction was met with, and money disappeared, like snow in the face of an April sun. Some help must be had. The men at the head had pledged all the credit

they had and were down to the last dollar in their own pockets. The only resort was to the government, and the government was being attacked from within and from without for its extravagant policy with regard to the railway, which would eventually, the critics said, ruin the country. However, Sir John was finally persuaded upon to submit to his supporters a proposition for a government loan of some \$28,000,000. Before this was done, Sir Charles Tupper, who held the rather novel positions of Minister of Railways and High Commissioner to England at one and the same time came to the rescue. What between Sir John's irresistible powers of persuasion and Sir Charles' indomitable optimism and courage, the government caucus agreed to the loan, which was promptly passed, through legislation, and the directors of the company, who had come very near to the extremity of forming themselves into a suicide club, breathed freely. It is reported that some of them solemnly assembled in a private room and then danced a jig for an hour or two. But, even this assistance was not sufficient. Then one of those ill winds that always blow somebody good, came about in the North West Rebellion of 1885. Troops had to be sent in large numbers to the seat of the trouble, and the C. P. R. handled the situation with such dispatch and with such efficiency, that it was felt their contribution towards the comparative early ending of the rebellion was invaluable. So when the company went before Parliament and asked for assistance, they were permitted to issue bonds to the extent of \$35,000,000, of which amount the government guaranteed \$25,000,000. This was the third and last call, and from now on the sun of prosperity shone on the intrepid builders.

Mr. Stephen went to England in trepidation as to his ability to dispose of the bonds, but on his arrival found the task easy of accomplishment, largely due, it is said, to the influence of Sir Charles Tupper, who most certainly was the firm, constant and untiring friend of

the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. From that time on the work progressed consistently and with success, and in November, 1885, the last spike was driven and the great railway was, to use a slang but forcible expression, well set and away. In a year after completion the government loan was paid in full. "It will either make or break the country," the writer's father said, speaking of the C. P. R., and, to a great extent, it has made the country. Its development has been something, as it has well been put, in the nature of a romance. Not only is the continent spanned, so that its own line, save a few miles through Maine, passes over Canadian territory from Vancouver, on the Pacific, to Saint John, its Atlantic port, but great steamship lines ply on the two oceans. Steamship loads of goods and carloads of goods are constantly being hurried over ocean and rail from China and Japan to Great Britain, and from Great Britain to China and Japan. There is a connection with an allied steamship line to Australia and a growing trade is working in that direction, largely through the instrumentality of an agent of the C. P. R., who, appealing to the Australian on the sentiment, "let the kangaroo and the beaver shake hands," secured a first start on Australian Canadian commerce through the Port of Vancouver. The C. P. R. has become the greatest common carrier, as the law books have it, in the world, and while Imperial and even international in its scope, it remains a Canadian enterprise, with Canada first and last as its motto.

CHAPTER XII.

*Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Office—Attitude to the War—
Sir Robert Borden and Union Government.*

THE death of Sir John Macdonald was a hard blow to the Conservative party, as the sudden removal of any unquestioned leader and the head of a cause always is. Long in power and office, signs of dissension soon were evident. Sir John Abbott was Premier for a short while, giving way to Sir John Thompson, a gentleman of high character and much ability, who had been on the bench in Nova Scotia, whence Sir John summoned him to serve in his cabinet as Minister of Justice. Sir John Thompson was a grave character, an entire contrast to the gay, debonair leader who had piloted the ship of state for many years. He was capable of making a great speech, but his speeches were delivered as if he were giving judgment from the bench, too lawyer-like, or perhaps we should say, judge-like, to be suitable for parliamentary debate. Sir John had the respect of everybody, and was held in esteem by his political opponents. His sudden death, while on a visit to the Queen at Windsor Castle, was tragic. Divisions partly closed up, broke out anew. Some of the party wanted Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who succeeded Sir John Thompson, as Premier, for the then approaching elections. Some wanted Sir Charles Tupper to come over and handle the reins. The latter prevailed.

A serious problem in what is known as the Manitoba School question had arisen. The Manitoba Legislature in 1890 introduced a Public School Act whereby all publicly aided schools were to be non-sectarian. The Roman Catholic Episcopacy claimed that the rights of the Catholic minority were "prejudicially affected" by this legislation contrary to the wording of the British North America Act, and upon the matter going before the Supreme Court of Canada, it was decided that the contention was well founded, and that the Dominion

Parliament was empowered, under the conditions to grant, what was called, remedial legislation, which would compel Manitoba to continue to support separate schools (that is schools where denominational religion is taught as part of the curriculum), out of the public funds.

Such legislation was passed by the Federal Parliament, not without strong opposition from members of the government party, and this became the main issue in the elections of 1896. Sir Charles Tupper went to the people supported by a mandate from the Bishops of Quebec, while Mr. Laurier, upon the ground that the remedial legislation was an invasion of provincial rights, opposed it. The result is well known. In spite of the episcopal direction, Laurier swept Quebec and found himself with a large following from Ontario and the rest of the Dominion.

For fifteen years, that is from 1896 until 1911, the Liberals remained in power. Their former occupancy of the government benches, under Mr. Mackenzie was brief, and there is nothing of great note to be remarked about it. Perhaps the most important piece of legislation which goes to the credit of Mr. Mackenzie, is the establishment of the Supreme Court of Canada, a tribunal that has grown in the esteem of the public and in the opinion of the legal profession ever since its foundation. Each political party is jealous of appointments to the Supreme Court being from the best qualified legal minds in the land—a good augury for justice in the country in the future.

Sir Wilfrid (for he was knighted not long after his elevation, and he used to say rather in spite of his own wishes) was not long in the Premier's chair before he indicated that, whoever might be in his cabinet, he was the master mind. He gathered about him a lot of Liberal premiers and ex-premiers of the provinces, who, accustomed to a "little brief authority," found it a bit hard to knuckle under, but knuckle under they had to or step out. Suave and courteous and polite and self-controlled,

Sir Wilfrid held as firm a hand on the baton of office as ever his great predecessor, Sir John A. Macdonald, did.

During his long tenure of office, prosperity shone on the Dominion, and it could no longer be said that Providence only favoured the Conservatives. Although his party had upheld and placed as a prominent plank in their platform, a reduced tariff—a tariff for revenue only—when Laurier came to deal with the situation he made no radical changes, only such as were apparently justifiable from changed conditions. Mr. Fielding, his Finance Minister, was a very sane and sound man, and under his management, business flourished, and manufacturers, confident in his support, branched out. There continued to be a steady flow of immigration from Europe to the western lands, and American farmers began to find their way to the vacant lands in the prairie provinces. Election after election found the government strongly entrenched in spite of all efforts of their opponents to dislodge them. Early in his premiership, Sir Wilfrid inaugurated the British preferential tariff, a wise and statesman-like bit of legislation, which won him considerable support from those impressed with Imperial ideas, and caused a good deal of embarrassment to the Opposition, who, while they could hardly oppose such a pro-British policy, talked about waiting until concessions were made at the other end. He introduced the penny postage—a popular move and under which apparently the postal receipts did not suffer much, if at all. While he was at the head of affairs the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were carved out of the North West Territories and took their place amongst the provinces of the Dominion, another transcontinental railway was started, under an agreement between the government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and just before his defeat in 1911, a contract was let for the building of the Hudson Bay Railway. His government is also to be credited with the creation of the Railway Commission.

It seemed to be a hard fate that a policy, to which more or less both parties were committed, should have been his undoing. Both parties, ever since Confederation, had flirted with the policy of reciprocity with the United States in the matter of natural products, the Liberals, earnestly, and with the intention and wish to consummate the union, the Conservatives, rather awkwardly and in the nature of a philanderer. During the presidency of Mr. Taft, finally an arrangement was reached for reciprocal trade. The United States Congress passed an act providing for it. Laurier, confident that this would be a winning card, appealed to the people in 1911. But, as the election contest went on, it became apparent that sentiment was not favourable. Perhaps the incautious statement made by the President to the American people, that this policy would make Canada "an adjunct" to the United States, had its effect. Perhaps it was felt that a party which a few years before had favoured commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity, would be apt to extend the principle to the extent of hurting Canadian industry. At all events, the opposition became very strong. And the result was that Sir Wilfrid was defeated and went out of office forever. He passed away, deeply regretted, in February, 1919. His successor, Sir Robert Borden, had scarcely become firmly set in harness before he was called upon to carry on the affairs of the nation, during the greatest war struggle in the history of mankind.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier will always remain a striking and rather complex study. With his nationality and his early bringing up, one is surprised, not so much that he attained to the leadership of his party, or that he eventually became Premier, but that for the long period of fifteen years he could exercise such unquestioned sway over his party. Once chosen as leader, his leadership was never in question. There was no one to think of disputing him, or if there was, the secret was kept very quiet. He completely controlled the electors in his native province of Quebec, who followed his lead almost to a con-



SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

stituency. Yet, he was also able to hold a generous support from the sister province, and Nova Scotia upheld him almost as solidly as Quebec. His personal magnetism was strong. Every one thrown in contact with him was impressed, both by his personal appearance and by his manner. Proclaiming himself a democrat of the democrats, he was aristocratic in his bearing and had the grand manner. A Liberal of prominence, who was in London at the coronation of King George, spoke of Sir Wilfrid, in his knightly cloak, striding across the floor of Westminster Abbey, a solitary figure, and not altogether, without the knowledge that he was attracting attention. Sir Wilfrid used to claim that his great work was to bring the two races in Canada closer together. Whether he really accomplished much in this respect may be questioned, but he was certainly sincere in his desire. To bring them more closely together than they now are, can only be done by intermarriage and closer social relations. And here steps in ecclesiastical authority, and forbids that which economics would particularly enjoin.

Sir Wilfrid's attitude in the Great War will always remain puzzling. He gave his unquestioned support to the government of Sir Robert Borden on the outbreak, and every reasonable support during its continuance. And yet, one cannot get away from the conviction that he did not take it quite as seriously as did the government leader. His point of view must have been different. It was the difference between the English and the French Canadian temperament and outlook. To the ordinary French Canadian to this day, the greatest crime committed during the war appears to have been, not the outrages committed by the German military, not the policy of terrorism, not the sack of Belgium, but the Conscription act passed by the Canadian Parliament. The habitant in Quebec had very little sense of danger in the war. He was much more afraid of his sons having to go to the war, than of the Germans winning the war.

Much of this was from ignorance of the real situation. And Sir Wilfrid seemed to give encouragement to this opinion, when he took his stand against the Conscription act, and remained set and positive in his views, although it lost him the following of many of his most earnest supporters, who joined in with Sir Robert Borden and other Conservatives in the forming of Union Government. That the government declared against conscription in the early days of the war is undoubtedly true—that the war attained to such dimensions, and the outlook became so deadly serious that they felt called upon to reconsider their attitude and adopt this extreme measure, is also true. In this case it might be argued that necessity knows no promises. Yet, Sir Wilfrid evidently thought conscription not only unnecessary but something in the nature of a political crime.

Perhaps it was all psychological. The English Canadian was dreadfully alarmed during the German advance in the spring and summer of 1918. He feared, and with the utmost reason, a German triumph or, at the least, a neutral treaty of peace with the German army and navy intact and the German Emperor—triumphant. He knew that even after the Americans entered the war, merchant ships were destroyed by the undersea boats faster than ever before and faster than they could begin to be replaced. And he felt that if Germany won, it would be the humiliation of Canada as well as of England and the other allies. But the French Canadian apparently was not worrying. Possibly he had more confidence in a good Providence watching over him. Anyway he did not see the danger. To certain extent Sir Wilfrid held this view.

His appeal to the country to support him in his contest with the Union Government was unavailing. Union Government was sustained and continued until after the war was finished.

The long period during which Sir Wilfrid directed affairs, will always be remembered as one of amazing

development in the history of Canada, and he, himself, will ever hold a place as a great Canadian statesman. He had a fine judgment in the distinction between Imperialism and Canadianism. His loyalty was never in question, and his love for Canada great. Liberal in his views, he was able to distinguish the weakness in the character of his own fellow Canadian countrymen as well as the strength. The name of Laurier will be one to conjure with in the future.

With the war, or this country's participation in the war, it is not the province of this short history to deal further. Much about it has already been written, and more will be written as time passes. The war is fresh in the minds of the people, too fresh in the minds of those who have life long sorrow as a result. Canada, which as a country was already taking a leading place amongst the peoples of the world, and towards which, as a home for the farming population of older countries, attention was directed, found herself at the close of this terrific struggle more famed than ever. Her sons had worthily upheld her honour. No soldiers, in courage and resource, surpassed the Canadians. Officers and privates alike distinguished themselves.

It is the fashion to sneer at Union Government, now that the war peril is a thing of the past—like an unpleasant dream—merely a memory. Party men on both sides, of the extreme type, condemned it at the time and have ridiculed it ever since. Yet it was a necessity. If ever there was an occasion when the best men of both parties should unite in giving their service to their common country, it was at the time Union Government was consummated, as much so at least as at Confederation, when something of the same kind was found advisable.

Under Union Government the question of titles of honour conferred on Canadians was dealt with in an emphatic manner. Somebody had been recommending the bestowal of these honours with a lavish hand. Not only

was knighthood in flower, but it was in full bloom, and peerages and baronetcies, which had been comparatively rare, seemed hovering in the offing. So Parliament took in hand to deal with the question for not only that time but probably for all time, by the introduction of an address to the King, praying that, "he should refrain from conferring any title of honour or titular distinction upon any of his subjects domiciled or ordinarily resident in Canada, save such appellations as are of a professional or vocational character or which pertain to an office." There can be no mistaking this language. It is plain and to the point. Since then no honours have been bestowed on Canadians, and nobody seems to be any the worse. The restoration of "titles" in Canada is a most unlikely thing to happen.

Of Sir Robert Borden's contribution to the history of Canada this is not the occasion nor the time to deal. He is with us yet, in retirement but not in obscurity. Suffice it to say that he was peculiarly adapted by temperament and constitution to stand in the gap at such a trying period in the history of the land. He, himself, would be the last to claim brilliance for himself. But he had the qualities of firmness, coolness and sound judgment, constituting him a fitting character to control the helm. Sir Robert's deliverance on the subject of Canada's status in the world, is a masterpiece of constitutional information, and will be cited by those who have been watching or looking for some such pronouncement for time to come. It is a deliverance that every student should familiarize himself with.

CHAPTER XIII.

*National Railways—Canada's Coat of Arms and Flag—
Group Government—Politics to Date—Finis.*

THE people of Canada, through an executive appointed by the government, are conducting a vast railway system, covering a mileage of upwards of 22,000 miles and giving employment to about 100,000 people, in the Canadian National Railways. This vast network includes as its main contributing factors, the Intercolonial Railway extending from Halifax to Montreal, with its branches in Prince Edward Island and elsewhere, the National Transcontinental, the Grand Trunk and the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern (McKenzie and Mann system), the Hudson Bay Railway, as far as completed, and the numberless feeders and branches to these larger trunks. While Laurier was Premier an agreement was entered into between the Government of Canada and the Grand Trunk Railway for the building of a transcontinental railway. The government undertook to build the railway from Moncton to Winnipeg, with the understanding that after its completion it would be leased to the Grand Trunk for a period of fifty years, rental to be paid after the third year's operation. The Grand Trunk was to build the line from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert on the Pacific Coast. But the war changed everything, or at all events it served as a reason for the non-fulfillment of the conditions on the part of the railway company, in connection with finances, and the result was that the government became obliged to take over the whole system, and make the best job they could of what appeared to be an embarrassing situation. This gigantic national undertaking imposes a heavy burden on the tax payers of a young country like Canada, and the deficit figures in each year's operations, have appeared most alarming. But there are now many indications that the darkest days are over and that within a decade or so this

immense national railway will be self-supporting. Again, railways are of colonizing value, even if they do not pay dividends. Settlers cannot be expected to take up the vast lands in the Peace River country and other territories unless there is a railway reasonably near. The railway must precede, in these days, the colonist. Already a healthy stream of immigration is tending towards Canada and there are signs of pre-war prosperity. In connection with the Canadian National Railways it may be said that, it owns a merchant marine fleet of more than sixty vessels, built during the war for war economic purposes, and now carrying on a world wide trade. The Transcontinental and the G. T. P. were built of easy grades, so that the heaviest train loads can be easily hauled. It was also built as a national undertaking, and the agitation that has arisen, for the use of Canadian ports for the shipment of Canadian produce, is not only reasonable, but brings to the fore and presents before the governments and people, the very idea which was in the minds of Sir Wilfrid and his colleagues when they entered into such a heavy contract as the building of an ocean to ocean railway from a Canadian port on the Pacific, all through Canadian territory to a Canadian port on the Atlantic.

Within the recent years Canada has adopted a new coat of arms. Originally the coat of arms consisted of a shield made up of the coats of arms of the old provinces in the Confederation. With the coming in of the western provinces, it was found, from the point of heraldry, that the addition of so many more designs would make a cumbrous and inartistic conglomeration. So it was decided to make a change, and a new design was formally and officially authorized by His Majesty the King. Briefly outlined, it consists of the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland and France, with, as the heraldry experts say, "a difference to mark the arms of Canada," namely on the lower third of the shield, a sprig of maple leaf in a silver field. The entire shield has for "sup-

porters" a lion and unicorn, slightly different from those on the Royal Coat of Arms, and the crest of Canada is a lion holding in its paw a red maple leaf, a symbol of sacrifice.

With the adoption of the new coat of arms came the question of a change in the Canadian flag. The change has been made simply by the substitution of the shield proper in the new coat of arms, on the fly of the red and blue ensigns, for the former design. And just here, a brief discussion on the flag question may not be altogether out of place. That there is a "distinctive flag of the Dominion of Canada" is unquestionable, for it is so called in the document authorizing its use. As far back as 1886, by a Commission of the Lord High Admiral of England, police ships in the Canadian service were authorized to fly the blue ensign of His Majesty's fleet, with the arms of the Dominion in the fly thereof.

At a later period, the use of the Canadian flag was extended to ships of the Canadian navy, and to all armed vessels. It was in the year 1891 that the red ensign of British shipping with the Canadian coat of arms in the fly was authorized for Canadian shipping. The Canadian red ensign is a familiar flag in any Canadian port, and in any foreign port where Canadian vessels go, and they are many. It may be said that the new design, as it appears on the flags, is certainly a much more artistic object than the old one. Officially on land, the Union Jack proper is the flag. It is properly flown on all public buildings. Equally official is the Canadian flag on ships of the Canadian fleet and on other Canadian shipping. As to private use, that is a matter of taste. There is no law prohibiting a Canadian from flying the Canadian ensign at his own flag pole, nor a Canadian child from carrying it in his hand and waving it on school and other public celebrations. More than this, it is absolutely a British flag, with only the "difference" of the Canadian coat of arms on the fly. Punch, so celebrated for its serious cartoons, after the Battle of Ypres, when the

Canadians held back the Germans and won the admiration of the world, published as its leading design a Canadian soldier, in one hand holding his uplifted rifle, and in the other draping the "distinctive flag of the Dominion of Canada." And Punch is a thoroughly loyal, patriotic, British and Imperial journal.

In bringing this relation of events in the history of Canada to an end it is not the intention to deal, but in the briefest manner, with the present situation. Before the life of the Union Government Parliament was brought to a close, Sir Robert Borden retired from the premiership, and Mr. Arthur Meighen formed a government, which, after carrying on for awhile, appealed to the people, in December, 1921, and was defeated, Mr. Mackenzie King and the Liberals having by far the largest group, with a strong body of Progressives, from the West, mostly, in second place and the Conservatives the smallest body numerically. Mr. King formed a government and with the help of the Progressives, which he found absolutely necessary, he conducted the affairs of the country until the last of October, 1925, when the electorate returned a new parliament with Mr. Meighen and his Conservative followers, the largest group, but not a plurality, the Liberals much diminished in numbers in second place, and an also diminished body of Progressives at the foot of the poll. Mr. King and many of his cabinet were defeated. The Progressives, although not half the number they were in the previous parliament, absolutely hold the balance of power. Parliament met early in January, 1926, and upon the first vote, Mr. Mackenzie King had a majority of three. And so the matter stands at the time of writing.

Apparently Canada is about to have the experience of other countries in which popular government prevails, in facing "groups." It would seem to be an evolution of our parliamentary system, and instead of reviling it, the better course would be to prepare to meet it, remembering

that many of the reforms and changes which we have found necessary in our political system, were considered by our fathers as dangerous radicalism, and departure from precedent which could bring nothing but calamity in its wake. The good old days when an ordinary member for Parliament, suited his constituents, if he could be counted upon to cast the straight party vote on each division, and it mattered not if his oratorical powers were limited to saying "Yea, yea," and "Nay, nay," are passed. Now the electors require as their member a man who can take his proper place in Parliament, the speaking place of the nation. Moreover, members are more on a level, intellectually, with each other. The leaders do not overthrow their followers as they used to do, the result of more diffuse and general education. Men are more independent and wince under the lash of the party whip. And so, from individual thought, comes individual initiative, and the formation of "groups" representing something different from the old party war cries. With us this is particularly marked in the west. In the east, party allegiance, a tradition since before the days of responsible government, still holds sway. A group of today may increase or diminish at the next election, but it is hardly likely to disappear utterly, and if it does another will soon rise in its place. The wisdom of statesmanship would demand that such a situation be met squarely and honestly and recognized as a new political development. To continually cry, "we must get back to the two party system," is something of the nature of the child's cry for the moon. In the past, Canada has passed through many crises, and there have been "deadlocks" again and again, but her statesmen were equal to each situation as it arose, and as much is to be expected of those who at present fill their seats.

It is now high time that this brief survey of some of the high spots in Canada's history was brought to a close. The attempt has been to write a book, which the busy man on the train or elsewhere may read with some

interest and at the same time form an idea of the salient events in the development of this vast country. It is also hoped that the newcomer may find the work informative, and not tiresome. It has been the wish to avoid heaviness and wearisomeness in detail. Perhaps the book might properly be called a narrative. If so, well, so the purpose of the author is satisfied. It is not for one moment claimed that all the high spots have been seen or pointed out.

The vision of each of us is limited, and only those heights coming under the vision of the author have been noted. Many and no doubt important ones have been missed. He can truthfully say that he has been put to much work in reading, studying, and in research. It has been a labour of love, and one of profit, too—though not by any means financial. As these closing lines are written he puts aside his pen with the confidence that, notwithstanding errors of commission and omission, he has done his best. He feels that Canada is indeed a great country, which, in spite of mistakes in the past, will and must go on to a full fruition of her destiny. A nation within the wide confines of the British Commonwealth of nations, attached to the motherland and to the sister dominions, by a tie none the less strong if almost invisible, allied to old France through the origin of one-third of her population, in close proximity and friendly intercourse with the great Anglo-Saxon republic to the south, she takes her steps forward nothing doubting of the future. She seeks no further independence, than she already has, and she seeks not annexation to another country, however powerful and however prosperous. And she is determined that the great pact of Confederation, brought about, after much mental labour and travail of soul, by our fathers, which raised a lot of disunited colonies into the magnificent nation of the Canadian people, shall not lightly be broken, by their descendants, or by strangers who have settled in her midst. The Confederation must, at all price, be kept, unimpaired.

HIGH SPOTS IN CANADIAN HISTORY

Should an attempt be made to break it, her sons will rise in their might, as they have risen on other great crises—and in the words of her national song—a song fit both in words and music to take its place among the great nation songs of the world, exclaim—

“O, Canada! O, Canada! We stand on guard for thee.”



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